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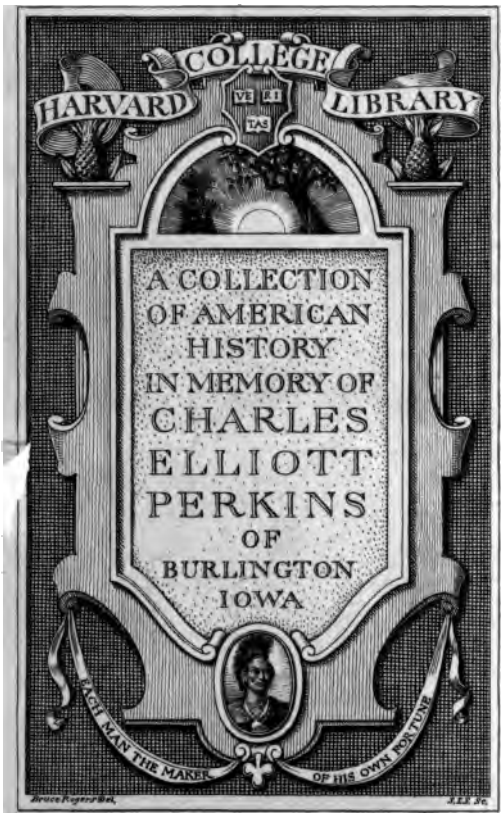
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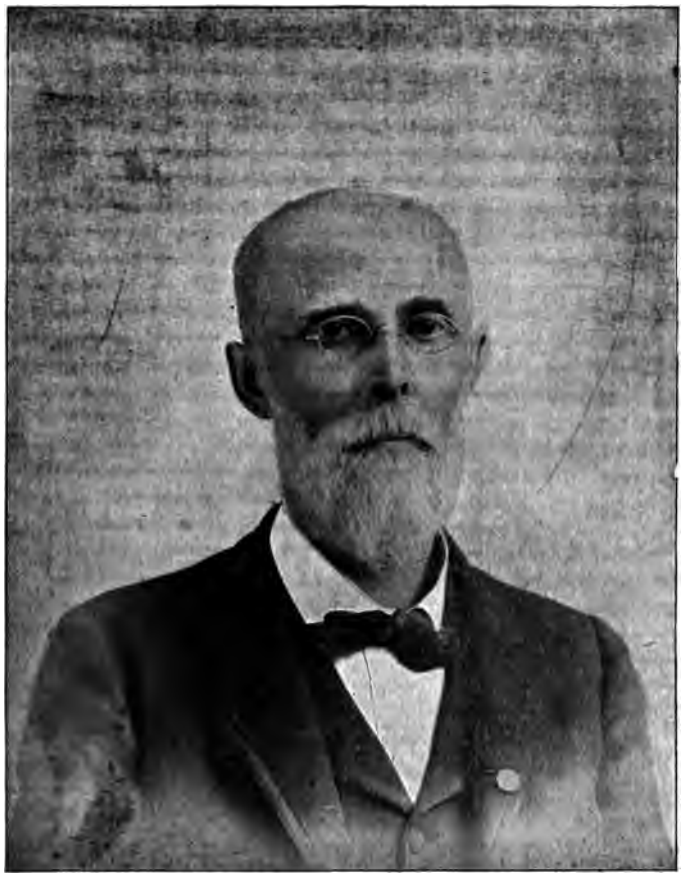
A COLLECTION OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN MEMORY OF CHARLES ELLIOTT PERKINS OF BURLINGTON IOWA
EACH MAN THE MAKER OF HIS OWN FORTUNE

June 1864. Felix G. Stidger

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SECRET SERVICE AGENT.
Grand Secretary of State Order of Sons of Liberty,
STATE OF KENTUCKY, 1864.



September 1903. Felix G. Stidger

AUTHOR OF TREASON HISTORY, ORDER OF SONS OF LIBERTY.
Knights of the Golden Circle, or American Knights, 1864.

TREASON HISTORY

OF THE ORDER OF

Sons of Liberty,

FORMERLY

CIRCLE OF HONOR,

SUCCEEDED BY

Knights of the Golden Circle,

AFTERWARD

Order of American Knights.

The Most Gigantic Treasonable Conspiracy The World Has Ever Known.

1864.

By the Grand Secretary of the Order for one of the States, And Most Trusted Confidant of the Active Working Head of the Order.

The Sole Reliance of the United States Government for Detailed Information of the Work of these Conspirators, and the Only Man the Government could put upon the Witness Stand at their Trial for Treason for the Personal Identification of the Conspirators.

—EDITED BY—

FELIX G. STIDGER,

United States Government Secret Service Agent,
Grand Secretary for the State of Kentucky,
Order of Sons of Liberty.

1903.

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PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.

INDEX, RITUALS, AND SECRET WORK.

FOR INDEX,

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FOR RITUALS AND SECRET WORK,

(Secret Work Never Before Published.)

Order of Sons of Liberty, and Address of Grand Commander Harrison H. Dood at Indianapolis,

SEE APPENDIX.

FOR REPORT OF HON. JOSEPH HOLT,

On the Order of Sons of Liberty,

See SUB-APPENDIX, End of Volume.

TO THE READERS OF THIS HISTORY.

While this is one of the Most Thrilling Works Ever Written in the Secret Service the Author wishes it Distinctly Remembered that there is Not One Word of Fiction in it, but every word contained in this book is the Actual Occurrences as related, and all the important claims are verified and Substantiated by Official Reports and Official Records of the Civil War of 1861 to 1865, as referred to in this volume, to be found in all public libraries.

THE AUTHOR.

The Following are Extracts from Three Letters recently received by me from General Henry B. Carrington.

In a letter from General Henry B. Carrington dated, "Hyde Park, Mass., February 20th, 1903," he says; "I read until midnight your paper. The fiction of no Detective is more thrilling than your History of the Facts."

In another letter from same place of April 5th, 1903, General Carrington says: "One fact I know, that we had the whole conspiracy so fully within our knowledge that we could have handled it if I had remained in Command of the District. Authority was given me to have Bullitt

arrested in Kentucky and certainly his arrest, the data for which was procured from no other source but yourself in the first instance, ended all hope for Kentucky's joint action with the traitors in Indiana."

In another letter from General Carrington dated April 10th, 1903, he says: "I took such interest, holding that by your knowledge of the whole field we could hold in check any open violence without the excitement of any overt act on the part of the disloyal element. Morton believed in your statements fully. To utilize your evidence and hard labor became necessary to conviction of the chief conspirators. The State (Indiana,) Detectives operating with Morton and myself disclosed desertions, gatherings, and meetings, etc., but none of them gave the clew to documents, rituals, etc. Why, there are people now who say there was no conspiracy, and your authentic record of things which even you did not need to disclose before, now becomes the only surviving material as to its full purpose, and its end."

General Carrington's Report made to the Adjutant General of Indiana from Reno Station, Powder River, Dakota, July 2nd, 1866; page 273, Volume I, "Indiana in the War," says: "About January 1st, 1864, the 'Knights of the Golden Circle,' under the title of the 'Order of American Knights,' changing soon after (February 22nd, 1864,) to the 'Order of Sons of Liberty,' their system was perfected, and their military organization assumed form and substance."

"Indiana in the War," Volume I, Page 307: "What are called the 'secrets' of the Order, its oaths, signs, and passwords, were all discovered as fast as they were changed, but no discovery of the schemes (and real intentions,) of the Order was made public until (learned by Stidger, and) revealed at the trial of Dodd and his associates."

In the "Life of Oliver P. Morton," by Judge Foulke, Volume I, Page 406, Judge Foulke says: "Stidger was the most valuable of all the Government Detectives. He was a Kentuckian who went to Carrington in May 1864."

PREFACE.

IN the reading of this HISTORY it may seem to some that there is a good-deal of the "I" set forth throughout the work. To such parties I will say; Remember, This is just what it purports to be, a History of the PERSONAL EXPERIENCES of the Author, and the occupation of itself being so hazardous, he was of necessity compelled to have no confidants outside of those with whom his position in the Government service brought him in contact.

In the City of Louisville and State of Kentucky, where I was raised and well known by thousands of the citizens, both of the loyal and disloyal element, there were but five persons that knew the actual business in which I was engaged. First of these was Miss Josephine M. McGill, of Louisville, a young lady whom I had known for eight years, and to whom I was engaged to be married, and although every one of her family were the bitterest enemies of the Government I fully advised her of every move I made, and everything I did, having full confidence in her—which confidence she proved herself worthy of—and at the end of my work for the Government she became my wife. The next was my brother, John H. Stidger, who acted as my first confidential assistant in making my reports in Louisville; Captain Stephen E. Jones, Provost Marshal General of the Military District of Kentucky, who first engaged me for this duty, afterward turning me over to Colonel Thomas B. Fairleigh, 26th Kentucky Veteran Volunteer Infantry, who was in Command of the Post of Louisville, to whom I made all my reports after the first one, which was made to Captain Jones; and James Prentice, a detailed soldier from a Michigan regiment, who was furnished to me by Brigadier General Henry B. Carrington, as a confidential assistant; and in Indianapolis I re-

ported to General Carrington and Governor Oliver P. Morton. These seven persons were the only ones that knew the business in which I was actually engaged, and it was to this limited number that I owed the success that I accomplished, for it is as Benjamin Franklin aptly stated, "The only way for two or more persons to keep a secret is for all but one of them to be dead." These seven were all personally and vitally interested in my making the success that I accomplished.

I begin with the history of my early childhood, to show the disadvantages under which I had been brought up naturally unfitting me for the unprecedentedly important services I was called upon to perform in my dealings with this gigantic secret enemy of our Government.

There have been put before the public what purport to be "History's" of "daring officers of the United States Government Secret Service," who profess to be the breakers up of this gigantic conspiracy, by "the only living man," (or men,) that could give the facts of this perilous service. It seems somewhat strange to me that I, the only man in the employ of the United States Government that ever obtained the position of a High Officer in that treasonable organization never even heard of any one of these men until twenty years or more after the end of the Civil War; and that not a one of them was called upon to testify in any of the trials of these conspirators, while the Judge Advocate of the Military Commission that tried these conspirators publicly stated that, if I was not willing to go on the witness stand and personally identify the leaders to be tried that they would have to be released, as the Government had not been able to obtain a witness that could, or would identify any one of the prisoners; and the statements of these "historians" are mostly so much at variance with the actual occurrences that they are of little or no reliance as to actual facts. I have also seen it stated by these "historians" that a majority of the high officers, generals, and leaders of the conspirators were foreigners. I cannot state personally of what they

might have been in other States than Kentucky and Indiana, but as the Order was not organized for military purposes except in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Ohio, and my personal knowledge of there not being a single officer of high rank in the Order in Kentucky or Indiana that was a foreigner, I cannot understand how the "majority" could be foreigners. Walsh of Chicago, and Grenfell, an Englishman, were foreigners, but they did not constitute a majority.

I do not ask the public, or any individual, to accept the statements that are set forth in this History of My Personal Experiences solely on my claim of their being facts, but will refer them to the columns of any newspaper, either political, religious, or family newspaper, or any magazine published during the months of October, November, or December 1864, for, at any-rate a partial, confirmation of what will be set forth in this volume, as there was not a daily or periodical publication in the United States, outside of the lines of the rebellion, but what at that time handled F. G. STIDGER, either in support or condemnation of me; so I offer the columns of any of these publications for the confirmation, to an extent, as to the correctness of this work. Of course I include a great many details, and many matters, in this volume that were not published at that time, and have never been published since, until now; as the publication at that time was only such as was brought out at the trials of the conspirators in Indianapolis during those months, and as the conspirators tried there were every-one of them citizens of Indiana, while my work was entirely with the LEADERS of the conspiracy in the States of Kentucky and Indiana, and my being the Second Officer in the State of Kentucky in this treasonable organization, there were hundreds of personal experiences occurring to me individually during the time I was holding a High Office among these conspirators that was not, and could not be, brought out during those trials for treason; but there is not one statement set forth, nor one claim made, in this volume but what actually occurred.

In ordering the "murder" of United States Government Detectives by the Heads of this Order; the plots to wreck train loads of United States Troops; the manufacture of destructive explosives for the destruction of steamboats and other United States Government property and buildings; the sending of the United States Sanitary Commission's Gold to the Confederate Commanders, etc., in all of which I was personally consulted; all being FACTS that were not known to ANY-ONE outside of the LEADERS of the Order, one of which Officers and principal leaders I was; and from the day I was first associated with the Order of Sons of Liberty I was in the employ of the United States Government, and faithfully reporting daily, and sometimes hourly, every design and intention of these conspirators, to the Government Officers.

In the Appendix will be found the Rituals and General Laws of the Neophyte, First, Second, and Third Temple Degrees; Grand Council Degree for the State of Indiana; and the Supreme Council of the United States, of the Order; arranged and explained so as to be readily understood what Ritual is for each Degree of the Order, which has *never* been done in *any other* publication of the Ritual and Laws; and could be done by me only from my actual familiarity with the use of those works while Grand Secretary of the Order for the State of Kentucky. The only published Address of Grand Commander Harrison H. Dodd of Indiana will also be found in the appendix; and the official report of Hon. Joseph Holt, Judge Advocate General of the United States Army made to Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, October 8th, 1864.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

The Author will not cumber his personal history with voluminous War Records which show most conclusively that from early in 1862, the disloyal Order, North of the Ohio River, almost paralyzed the stupendous efforts of Governor Morton of Indiana to keep his troops from the dangerous infection.

The State Legislature was honey-combed by its influence. Army Officers and troops, needed at the front, were detained to watch this "Fire in their rear."

Vide WAR RECORDS. Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part I, Page 463. Part II, Pages 97, 101, 102, 113, 206, 209, 211, 215, 232, 236, 239, 259, 260, 280, 281, 287, 293, 295, 296. Part III, same Volume, Pages 368-69. Vol. XLI, Part II, Pages 622, 717. Series II, Vol. V, Pages 108, 235, 363-366. Vol. VII, Pages 193, 339, 340, 341, 342, 368, 371-72, 375. Series III, Vol. IV, Pages 163, 578.

Many of these documents are noticed in this history, but the full originals are thus referred to for critical readers; and can be found in any of the large public libraries.

June 19th, 1863, General Stanley wrote Col. C. Goddard of General Rosecrans Staff; "The Battle of Stone River saved the North-West from falling under the domination of the Peace and Coward Party."

EXPLANATIONS OF SOME OF THE POINTS
That the Great Masses of Readers Might Not Otherwise Comprehend.

The Author being a Kentuckian by birth and raising, and this work mostly performed in that State, I have used the usual Southern designations of the divisions of the day; morning, evening, and night; instead of the designations as used in the North, forenoon, afternoon, evening.

While I may apparently claim a great-deal of credit in this work I also claim to have done nothing but my duty to my Government, and am only too thankful to the Divine Being that I had the tact, ability, and courage to perform that duty.

When you go to fight the devil go into his camp with fire, and do not be afraid of being burnt.

In a report made by Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt to the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, dated, Washington, D. C., October 8th, 1864, the following paragraph is a part of that report.

"THE WITNESSES AND THEIR TESTIMONY."

"The facts detailed in the present report have been derived from a great variety of dissimilar sources, but all the witnesses, however different their situations, concur so pointedly in their testimony, that the evidence that has been furnished must be accepted as of an entirely satisfactory character. The principal witnesses may be classified as follows:

"1. Shrewd, intelligent men, employed as detectives, and with a peculiar talent for their calling, who have gradually gained the confidence of the leading members of the Order, and in some cases have been admitted to its Temples and initiated into one or more of the Degrees. The most remarkable of these is Stidger, formerly a private soldier in our army, who, by the use of an uncommon

address, though at great personal risk, succeeded in establishing such intimate relations with Bowles, Bullitt, Dodd, and other leaders of the Order in Indiana and Kentucky, as to be appointed (afterward unanimously elected,) Grand Secretary for the latter State, a position the most favorable for obtaining information of the plans of these traitors and warning the Government of their intentions.

It is to the rare fidelity of this man, who has also been the principal witness upon the trial of Dodd, that the Government has been chiefly indebted for the exposure of the designs of the conspirators in the two States named."

During the three months that I had my Headquarters and Office in the Office of Ex-Major Doctor Henry F. Kalfus, were I away from Louisville even for a day, or more, on my return I was every time in the greatest fear of death when first entering my Office; knowing, as well as I did the unreasoning desperation of the men whom I would meet there; that if they found anything upon which to base a suspicion of my actual work for the Government that I would be shot down and killed instantly on my appearance in my Office; but while experiencing that dreadful fear I never hesitated one moment to walk boldly in and greet whoever might be there with all the cordiality and authority of my Office of Grand Secretary of the Order of Sons of Liberty for the State of Kentucky.

COPY OF LETTER OF INTRODUCTION.

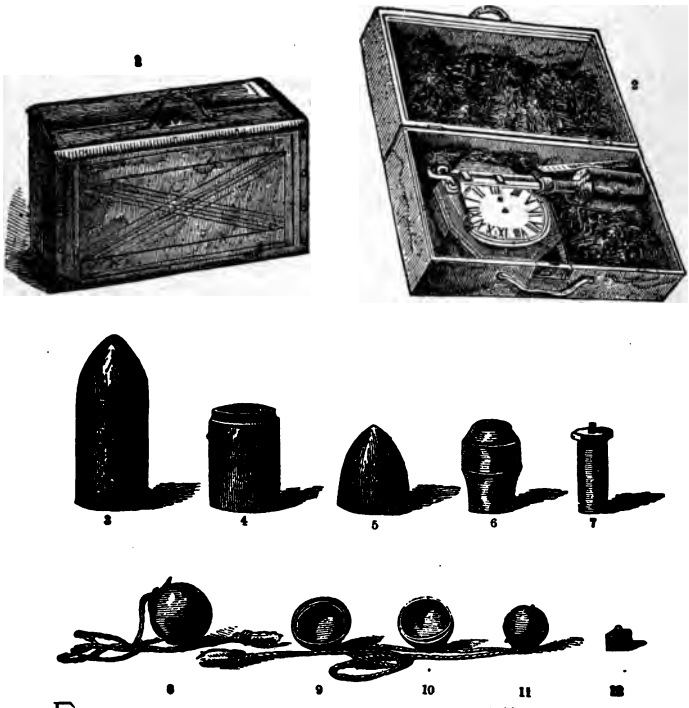
H. H. DODD.

DEAR SIR:

My friend Mr. F. G. STIDGER goes to Indianapolis on business, in which I think it probable that you can aid him. He is entirely reliable, and any aid you can give him will confer a favor on Your friend, J. F. BULLITT.

Louisville, June 2nd, 1864.

Office of
Judge Advocate General,
Official Copy.



EXPLANATIONS OF THE INFERNAL MACHINES.

Figure 1 is a seemingly harmless portmanteau, or hand valise. Figure 2 shows the same opened, and its arrangement. An alarm clock with the bell removed, set to any given time, when running to that time springs the lock of a gun, the hammer of which striking and exploding a cap placed upon a tube filled with powder fires a train connected with a bottle of Greek Fire. The explosion of these combustibles ignites a bunch of tow saturated with turpentine with which the remainder of the valise is filled. This innocent looking but vicious valise can be taken to one's room in a hotel, aboard a steamboat, or into a business house, or anywhere, the clock wound up and alarm attachment set for any future time of from ten minutes to ten hours, the valise closed and locked, and at the time for which the alarm is set the slight explosion will occur without even

attracting the attention of those near by until the fire has been set and perhaps under full headway.

Figure 3 shows a conical shell 3½ inches in diamater and 8 inches long. Figures 4 and 5 show the bottom and top parts of figure 3 when unscrewed at the base of the cone; figure 6 is a shorter shell into which figure 7 is screwed, the space between figures 6 and 7 to be filled with the liquid Greek Fire; figure 7 is a case to contain powder, with a nipple for a cap at the upper end; figure 7 screws into figure 6 containing the Greek Fire, and the two forming an inner shell fitting loosely into figure 3, into which it is placed. When the figure 3 shell is discharged from a gun on striking any object the cap on figure 7 explodes and ignites and explodes the powder, bursting the shell and igniting the Greek Fire, and setting on fire anything with which it may come in contact.

Figure 8 shows a spherical shell or hand grenade ready for use; figures 9 and 10 show the same shell or grenade unscrewed in the center for placing in it the interior shell; figure 11 is a shell enough smaller than figure 8 to admit of the placing of nine nipples on the outside of it and have caps on each of them, and still work loosely enough that upon the shell or grenade dropping onto or striking anything one or more of the caps will explode; figure 12 is a small vial to contain Greek Fire. The vial (figure 12,) containing the Greek Fire is placed inside of the smaller shell (figure 11,) and the space between the vial and the shell (figure 11,) is filled with powder, and the two halves screwed together, and with the caps on the nipples figure 11 is placed in figure 8, which is then screwed together. The dropping of this shell or grenade eight or ten inches on the floor or any solid substance will invariably explode one or more of the caps, no matter which way it falls; or it can be thrown by the hand, and on striking a building, or any object, one or more of the caps would explode, igniting the powder and bursting the shell, and the Greek Fire would set fire to a building, or any inflammable object with which it may come in contact. The string attached to figure 8 will enable a person to throw it a greater distance as a sling with less danger of its explosion in his own hand.

DEDICATION.

This History of my own personal experiences of treason within the Union lines against the Union, and my services therein rendered is Affectionately Dedicated to the memory of my departed wife, JOSEPHINE M. STIDGER, who shared with me all the anxieties thereof.

FELIX G. STIDGER.

Chicago, January 4th, 1904.

This day appeared Felix G. Stidger, personally known to me, and made solemn oath that the statements set forth in this volume, "Treason History; Order of Sons of Liberty," given by him are his own Personal experiences in that Order in 1864, and are the Facts occuring at that time.

Felix G. Stidger

Subscribed in my presence, and sworn to this 4th day of January, 1904.

Wm E Humphrey

United States Commissioner,
Northern District of Illinois.

Seal.

HISTORY

OF MY

Personal Experiences as Grand Secretary

OF THE

ORDER OF SONS OF LIBERTY

For the State of Kentucky, 1864.

CHAPTER I.

MY EARLY CHILDHOOD LIFE, EDUCATION; DEPUTY COUNTY CLERK AT FIFTEEN; MORTAR CARRIER; AT SEVENTEEN LEARNED CARPENTER TRADE; STORE CLERK; BUT FOUR UNION MEN IN THE TOWN; SOLD THE NOTORIOUS REBEL RAIDER JOHN MORGAN HIS FIRST CAMP BLANKET; MY PATH NOT STREWN WITH ROSES; IN FEDERAL ARMY IN 1862-63-64; ASST. ADJT. GENL'S OFFICE.

FELIX GRUNDY STIDGER, The subject of this History, was born in Taylorsville, the County Seat of Spencer County, Kentucky, on the 5th day of August, 1836. My father was, as Jesus of Nazareth, a carpenter, and my mother a farmer's daughter. My father died on the 1st day of November 1838, leaving his widow with two babes, Grundy the older, and John a babe six months. My mother had no means of support for herself and babes except such as she might be able to earn with her needle.

Under such circumstances your subject was past eight years old before ever entering a school-house, though at that age under my mother's guidance I had learned to read. In those days in Kentucky there was no such advantage as a free school, and my mother's limited means permitted of my going to school in the winter time only, and some-

times not even then, so the spring of the year before I was fifteen years old—during which time I had received less than three years of schooling—I was placed in the office of the County Clerk, who was also Deputy Clerk and practically Clerk, of both the Circuit and County Courts; where I remained about one and one-half years, in which time I picked up quite a smattering of law, as well as also becoming thoroughly familiar with the duties of County Clerk, as well as somewhat that of the Circuit Clerk; but seeing but little chance of advancement to a sufficient remuneration to enable me to assist my mother as I should, I gave up my place in the Clerks Office and went to work carrying mortar for a plasterer at 25 cents a day.

A month before I was seventeen years old I engaged for a three years apprenticeship with a carpenter and builder, Martin H. Aud, two and one-half years of which time I served at that trade, nearly all of which time I also kept the books of my employer. He in the meantime having purchased a one-half interest in the largest dry-goods and general store in the little town of Fairfield, the firm, Terrell and Aud, becoming dissatisfied with their clerk insisted upon my taking the vacant place in their store, where I remained two and one-half years. The only instance of note occurring during that time being the almost entire absence from the store of the managing partner, Mr. Terrell, for about four months, attending to some improvements at his residence, during which four months he never came to the store only at night, and then never to attend to any business; but at the end of the four months he took up his place at the store, and the first thing he did was to put in a few days going over the books, which, after finishing, his approach at me was, "Well Grundy, you have made us lots of money in the last four months, but you have got us a hell of a name." On my inquiring in what way, I was told that the house had gotten a reputation, under my management, of selling goods at exceedingly high prices; but as neither partner ever entered any complaint I never understood that they were

very much displeased. This was in the summer of 1857, and I remained in the store until the summer of 1858, when I became tired of the store business and went back with the other partner, Mr. Aud, to work at the building trade. After working some months with him in Boyle County, Kentucky, I went to Jacksonville, Illinois, in the spring of 1859, remaining there about two months, when I went to St. Joseph, Missouri, where I worked at my trade of carpenter for one year, when a nephew of Mr. Terrell—the man for whom I had sold goods in Fairfield—the nephew, living in Bloomfield, four miles from Fairfield, decided to open up what might be called for a town of 300 or 400 inhabitants, a large dry goods and general store, together with merchant tailoring, and finding it impossible to obtain a clerk to suit him, he asked the advice and assistance of his uncle in Fairfield, who advised him to find me and get me if he could; so through my mother and brother in Taylorsville he learned my whereabouts, and offered me a good salary to enter his employ, which offer I accepted, and began fulfilling in August 1860.

The foregoing may all be considered somewhat irrelevant to the subject of this History, but I have given it to account for my presence in Bloomfield at the time of the breaking out of the great rebellion of 1861, and the fact of my being a resident of that town at that time, and the circumstances connected with, and occurring there, leading to the future thrilling events and experiences of this History, as exciting, daring, and successful, as has ever been the lot of any man.

The town of Bloomfield was a very pretty little place, with an intelligent population, a well to do surrounding country, the seat of a flourishing female seminary, and withal an *infernally disloyal* sentiment against the United States Government.

It was after the National Conventions of 1860 had been held that I went to Bloomfield, and the feeling and expressions were very bitter against the party that had nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency. As I had never tak-

en any interest in politics I felt but little concerned in the matter,—though possessed of a strong Union feeling,—devoting my attention to the interests of my employers. After the election in November, and it was known that Mr. Lincoln was elected President, the feeling and expressions of hatred against the North knew no bounds in that little town, in fact it could not have been more intense in Charleston, South Carolina, where preparations began for seceding from the Union, and for an attack on Fort Sumpter. After Mr. Lincoln's Inauguration, and the formation of a Confederate Government in the South, and the adoption of a Confederate flag, it was but a short time until there was a very large and tall pole raised at the crossing of the two streets of the town, and the central part of the town, near the corner of our store, and a Confederate flag twenty feet long was raised to the top and unfurled from it. Soon after the raising of this flag the Honorable Joseph Holt, Judge Advocate General of the United States Army, whose home was at Bardstown, ten miles from Bloomfield, on a visit to his home wished to also visit his cousin, Horace Stone, living some four miles from Bloomfield; but to reach his cousin's home he had to either pass through Bloomfield and ride under this rebel flag, or take a circuit of several miles out of his way to get there. To his great honor he took the longer route.

Bloomfield at that time had no railroad or telegraphic communication, but only a tri-weekly stage-coach communication with Louisville, thirty-five miles North-West. The town in its population contained but four Union men, John A. Terrell, proprietor of the store in which I was a clerk, an old gentleman named John Brown,—not the one of Harper's Ferry fame, but was equally as loyal to his Government,—Mr. Brown's son-in-law Thomas Hobbs, and myself; the former three for many years residents of the town, and forty-five to sixty years of age, had comparatively little trouble on account of their loyalty, and were permitted to talk their sentiments quite freely without comment, but with me, being a young man of twenty-

five, and of only about a year's residence in the town, it was considered that I ought not to be so free with my expressions of loyalty to the United States Government, all of which only made me more out-spoken and offensive in my expressions against disloyalty, rebellion, and treason, with such aggravation and sarcasm as I could use. After the first battle of Bull Run the town was in a perfect wild fury of excitement and jubilancy; in fact it soon became noted throughout the State as the most disloyal element in the State, even so much so that the first camps for recruits for the rebel army in the South from the State of Kentucky were formed at Bloomfield. Even the notorious John Morgan came all the way from Lexington to organize the nucleus of his command at Bloomfield; and I will say here, that I had the distinction of selling him the first blanket he had after selecting the ground for his camp about one mile from the town. I did not know at the time who he was, but I did know that he was from that d-m—d rebel camp, and I let him off with $11.00 for a $7.00 blanket. I do not suppose he ever knew who I was, he being an entire stranger in the place, but the owners of the three other dry goods stores in the town, all of them intensely rebel, were terribly chagrined that he had made his purchase of me, the most bitter Yankee in the town, and had not even come into any one of their stores; but as he only spent a few days in the camp, and his time being fully occupied in organizing the recruits that were rapidly coming to him, he had no time to spend in the town. Soon after his departure the rebel army invaded the Southern part of the State, and General Lovell H. Rousseau coming over from Jeffersonville, Indiana, into Louisville, the proximity of Federal Troops was too close to admit of the formation of new camps of rebel recruits at Bloomfield, so the rebel element there had to content themselves with curses on the "d-m—d Yankees."

While I remained in the town some eight months afterward my path was not strewn with roses. In going from the store to where I boarded, some two blocks, I had to

pass every business house in the town, and it became so that I never went to or came from my meals without having slurs, insinuations, and insults hurled at me, but before they became very bold I got used to them, and either gave them back worse than they sent, or passed them unnoticed. They all knew that I carried a Colts "Navy" and a dirk knife, and they were used to seeing me every day empty the revolver in an old door 300 feet away, so I was not afraid of being molested in the day-time, but when I would be out calling at night, in going back to the store, where I slept, I always took the "middle of the road," there being too many little alleys between buildings facing on the sidewalk to hide in.

Even though there was no communication with the town except by stage-coach tri-weekly from Louisville, there was never a skirmish or a battle but what the town of Bloomfield knew of it within a few hours after it occurred, but how they obtained their information none of the four Union men could ever learn; though we did learn it to be a fact, that the more badly whipped the rebel forces were in any engagement the louder the rebel element in Bloomfield proclaimed a *glorious victory*, until the Louisville papers were received giving an account of their disaster. As an illustration; At the battle of Mill Springs, Kentucky, some 80 to 100 miles from Bloomfield, where General Thomas and General Zollicoffer were engaged, those fellows knew of the battle on the same day that it occurred, and loudly and boastfully claimed a brilliant victory for Zollicoffer and the rebel forces, and the rout and almost entire destruction of the Yankee army under General Thomas, which boast was kept up until the Louisville papers were received the next evening giving a full account of the engagement, resulting in the killing of General Zollicoffer by Colonel Fry, and the capture of a good part of Zollicoffer's Army, a small portion making their escape across the Cumberland River and into Tennessee. This intense feeling of disloyalty to the Federal Government was, I know, kept up until after the termination of

the war, as I was in the town in May 1864, which will be mentioned again in its place in this History.

I remained in the mercantile employ in Bloomfield until the latter part of April 1862, when I again became tired of the business, and as there was a gentleman with whom I was well acquainted living some two or three miles from the town, who was going to build a house on his farm, I obtained the contract, and completing the job in August I returned to my native town of Taylorsville where I remained until Kentucky was invaded by the Confederate General Bragg in September 1862, the rebel forces advancing through my home town, to a point about half-way between Taylorsville and Louisville, where they held possession for a few days, until General Buell got his forces fully reorganized and equipped, when he proceeded to advance against Bragg, who retreated toward Perryville; General Buell with General Thomas' Corps taking the Bardstown turnpike, with General A. McD. McCook's Corps, General Rousseau's Division in the advance, by the way of Taylorsville. General Rousseau and his Acting Assistant Adjutant General of Division, First Lieutenant William P. McDowell of the 15th Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, both being residents of Louisville, on their arrival at Taylorsville where they remained in camp one day, expressed a wish that some loyal young man of the town should join in the ranks of the army, when he would be at once detailed as a clerk in the Assistant Adjutant General's Office at Division Headquarters, whereupon I applied for and obtained the position.

It was during this invasion of the rebel forces that I first heard of the "Gatling Gun," the rebel troops telling us of a gun the "Yanks" used in the battle of Richmond, Kentucky, where they would hitch a horse to the gun, start on a gallop, turn a crank, and the bullets flew almost as thick as hail, mowing down the rebel lines. They could not understand it, and wanted to know if we could tell them anything about the infernal machine.

The army moving forward early the next morning I was

not prepared at the time to enter upon my duties, but two days afterward I followed up the command, overtaking them on the night of October 7th at the little town of Sharpsville, I should judge about five or six miles from the battle-field of Perryville, or Chaplain Hills as it is sometimes called, at which town of Sharpsville the Division had gone into camp for the night. I reported to General Rousseau for duty, but was told by him to return to the town for the night, and report to him in the morning. On reporting early the next morning, October 8th, 1862, I found the Division already moving, I falling in with the General's Headquarters, where before one o'clock of that day I witnessed, and partly participated in, the beginning of one of the hardest fought battles for the length of time and number of men engaged, that was fought during the war. Belonging to no command I was all-over the battle-field during the fight, which was carried on by McCook's Corps alone against the entire rebel force of General Bragg, until just before sun-down when General Wood's Division of General Thomas' Corps came to assist us.

It was rather a hot initiation for a raw recruit, and I really felt that night as though I would like to be at home, which I could have done as I had not yet been enlisted, but the rebels retreating that night, and the next day the troops having nothing to do but bury the dead, by direction of General Rousseau I went over to the headquarters 15th Kentucky Infantry and was sworn in as an enlisted man and assigned to Company E, returning at once to Division Headquarters where I was immediately detailed for duty as clerk in the Assistant Adjutant General's Office. I was afterward on the battle-field of Stone River, and a part of the time at Chickamauga, but I never saw dead men lay so thick as the rebels on the battle-field of Perryville after the Union dead had all been burried.

CHAPTER II.

At the Battle of Perryville Field Officers Killed; New Field Officers Elected; Battle of Stone River; Battle of Chickamauga; Dismissal of Major Kalfus; My Discharge From the Army; Robbed by Guerrillas; Attempted Murder; Employed as United States Government Secret Service Agent.

In this chapter will begin my History which eventually led to the prominence I attained in the Order of Sons of Liberty, all of which is essential in showing, partially, why I succeeded, single handed and alone, in so completely overthrowing the treasonable designs and intentions of that Order, and having some of its principal leaders arrested, tried, and sentenced to be hanged.

At the battle of Perryville the Lieutenant Colonel and Major of the 15th Kentucky Infantry were both killed on the battle-field, and the Colonel of the Regiment wounded, and soon afterward dying of the wound at his home in Louisville, leaving the regiment without a Field Officer, the ranking Captain able for duty taking command. After following Bragg to Stanford, and learning of his escape through Cumberland Gap into Tennessee we again began our march, and went westward through Southern Kentucky, and to Nashville, Tennessee, and out a few miles on the Granny White turnpike, where we went into permanent camp for the time, between the 20th and last of October. While in this camp the 15th Kentucky elected a new set of Field Officers; for Colonel, Captain James B. Forman, a young lawyer of Louisville, only about twenty-one years old; for Lieutenant Colonel, Captain Snyder, from out in the State, I do not know just where; for Major, Captain Henry F. Kalfus, a prominent physician of Louisville. The newly elected Field Officers being without horses, and I having a good fine horse of my own that I had brought from home and had not yet returned, Major Kalfus came to me when he received his appointment,

knowing I had no use for a horse in camp, and asked the use of my horse until he could procure one of his own, which request I readily complied with.

On December 31st 1862 and January 2nd 1863 was fought the battle of Stone River, near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, where our entire Division was thrown in to break the rout of the right of McCook's Corps, on the right of our army, in the early morning of December 31st; our Division losing in the battle near one-half of its men in killed and wounded, the 15th Kentucky losing a little more than one-half of its men, among the killed being Colonel Forman: Major Kalfus being in the hospital at Nashville at this time.

The Confederate Army being badly worsted in this battle evacuated Murfreesboro and fell back on Tullahoma as their base. but with their army only a few miles from Murfreesboro, while we took up our Headquarters in Murfreesboro. where we remained until June 24th 1863, when we again went in pursuit of Bragg, fighting the battle of Chickamauga on the 19th and 20th of September, and taking up our quarters in Chattanooga Sept. 21, '63.

While in camp at Chattanooga there seemed a species of hydrophobic mania strike the Officers of the 15th Kentucky Infantry to resign. As every resignation, leave of absence. discharge, or furlough, from the entire Division passed through my hands, both in its going to and returning from Department Headquarters, where it was finally allowed or refused, I was, in fact, the only man in the Division that knew the exact and final disposition of those papers for the entire Division. The keeping of the records of those was wholly in my charge. Of course every Officer or enlisted man in the Divison could obtain any information he desired, but few cared to know beyond his own individual case, or that of a friend. I was surprised one morning to find among the applications sent in to Division Headquarters for forwarding, a batch of some fifteen or eighteen tenders of resignations from Officers of the 15th Kentucky Infantry. They none of them gave

any special reason for wishing to resign. All of these resignations were forwarded without any recommendation from General Richard W. Johnson, who was then in command of our Division. In due time these resignations were every-one returned in a batch, "D i s a p p r o v e d." Within a few days some half dozen, or more, of the same Officers again forwarded a tender of their resignations, again without any special reasons given, and again the entire batch were returned, but this time with an indorsement asking for reasons why these resignations were desired. In both of these batches of resignations had been the tender of the resignation of Major Henry F. Kalfus. After the return of the second lot unapproved the matter was dropped by all the Officers except Major Kalfus. Major Kalfus for the third time forwarded a tender of his resignation, alleging as his reason for so doing, that he had entered the army for the purpose of assisting in the suppression of the rebellion, but since the consummation of the Proclamation of President Lincoln for the freeing of the slaves of the South he declined to further participate in a war of which the ultimate result was to be the freedom of the negro. This third, and last tender of resignation was not returned, but instead, came an order from Department Headquarters, that Major Henry F. Kalfus be immediately put under arrest, and that the 15th Regiment Kentucky Infantry be drawn up in line, that Major Kalfus be brought, under guard, before the Regiment, his shoulder straps be cut off, and the order of the Commanding General dishonorably dismissing Henry F. Kalfus from the United States military service be read to him in the presence of the Regiment, after which he be marched outside of the lines of the army at the point of the bayonet, all of which was carried out as ordered.

It will be learned later in this History what important part the giving of these facts have to do with my future connection and services as a United States Government Secret Service Agent, and an Officer of High Rank in the Order of Sons of Liberty, or Knights of the Golden Circle.

During the winter of 1863 and 64 my mother, then near fifty-nine years of age, was confined to her bed by sickness and wanted me to come home on a furlough, but my knowing that sixty, or at the farthest, ninety days was the utmost limit of time I could have in that way, and that if I should have to leave her almost at the point of death it would be worse than to not go home, so about the 10th of February 1864 I determined to procure my discharge from the army. Doctor Solon Marks, Surgeon of the 1st Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, one of the regiments composing our Division, was the Medical Director on the staff of the General Commanding the Division, and being personally and well acquainted with Medical Director Marks I went to him and asked him if he would approve a medical certificate for my discharge from the army if I obtained one from the Surgeon of my regiment. He, being a stout, healthy man, and knowing me well, after examining me told me that I was as stout and hearty as he was, and that under the rules and regulations of the army governing the discharge of soldiers he could not approve an application made by me on a medical certificate; and as I was imbued with the idea that there were but few things that could not be lawfully gotten around if a man would take the trouble to find a way to do it, I very forcibly told Doctor Marks that I would proceed to get a regular discharge from the army on a surgeon's certificate of disability, and as my regiment was then on detached duty I would proceed through another channel, and without his assistance. I next applied at the tent of the Surgeon of my regiment, where I met with the exact same reply that I had received from Doctor Marks; but as I was not willing to give up the fight anything short of a victory I requested the surgeon to make out a certificate in my behalf as far as he could do so conscientiously, and then let me fill in the "complaint" part, which he readily and willingly did as far as he could, and when coming to the part where it was necessary for him to fill in the nature of my complaint he turned the paper over to me to fill in

that part, as he could not find a complaint to fill in with. I readily inserted the nature of my complaint to be "a predisposition to consumption, hereditary in its character," and passed the paper back to him for his signature. He read it over, and very carefully re-read it, then remarked, that he "could sign that conscientiously, but when it got to Department Headquarters he did not think they would know anything about it." After signing it he gave it back to me and I took it directly to General John M. Palmer's Corps Headquarters, where the Colonel of my regiment, Marion C. Taylor, a lawyer of Shelbyville, Kentucky, was Provost Marshal, and he had it forwarded direct to General Thomas' Department Headquarters, from where it was returned on Sunday morning, February 14th, with an order signed by Lieutenant H. M. Cist, Aiddecamp, ordering my honorable discharge from the army, and that evening at one o'clock I left Chattanooga for my home. General Johnson and Doctor Marks were both very much surprised when I showed them my discharge and bid them good-by, and were also much pleased that I had accomplished my undertaking in which neither of them could give me any aid whatever.

I arrived in Louisville on Tuesday morning, where I had to remain until Wednesday, as there was only stage conveyance to Taylorsville where I arrived Wednesday evening, Feb. 17th, finding my mother a very sick woman.

At that time that part of Kentucky was very much infested with what was known as guerrilla bands, there being two or three such bands operating in the vicinity of our town, who, while committing but few murders, took advantage of every occasion to mistreat and rob Union citizens, and even sometimes men in sympathy with their own cause, but were, as all such gangs are, the most craven cowards at the near approach of a small squad of organized loyal foes.

Some five or six weeks after my arriving home I went to the main drug store in the town to get a physician's prescription filled for my mother, and failing to notice that

I had no small money in my pockets I took a large pocket-book from the inside pocket of my vest, from which I took the money to pay for filling the prescription, not thinking for a moment that such an act would result in a most flagitious and cowardly robbery, as I knew personally, and well, every-one in the store, and had been raised with them. This was on Saturday, March 26th. On that Saturday night at about twelve o'clock there was a knocking on the front door of our house; the house stood in an isolated position, there being no other house within 250 feet of it; and as my brother and myself slept in the room where our mother lay sick, that the least move of hers at any moment attracted the attention and immediate response of one of us, on hearing the knocking on the door I at once answered it. On opening the door I found three young men standing before me, one of whom asked me if I would guide them to Bloomfield, my old town of rebel insults and rebel howls, and ten miles distant. I explained to them that my mother was very sick, and that I would direct them the way to get to Bloomfield, but that I could not guide them. One of them then asked me if I would get him a drink of water, whereupon I started to comply, going into the room where my mother was, she having heard the knocking on the door, and the conversation that took place, and I was astonished to see that two of the men had followed me into the room with drawn revolvers, and they at once demanded of me my revolver, an article I told them I did not own, which they thought very strange as I was, as they said, a Yankee soldier, and yet had no revolver, but becoming satisfied on that point they then demanded my money. As I then knew the character of the men I was dealing with, I denied having any money. They asked no further questions, but went to the chair where my clothing was, and one of them picking up my vest, made no search, but put his hand into the exact inside pocket where they knew my money was, and took out the pocket-book as I had done that morning at the drug store, when he laid my vest down and took up my

pantaloons, from which he took a gold watch from the pocket, after which he did the same with my brother's pantaloons, taking from them also a watch. They knew then that they had all the portable valuables that we possessed, so the pocket-book was opened to see if it still contained the money that they expected to find in it, and upon finding it they asked how much was there and I told them the amount, $260.00, which seemed to be more than they expected, as they immediately left the house. All of this occurred in the room where our mother lay on her death bed, and in her immediate presence. Just one week afterward, Saturday, April 2nd, our mother died, her death most certainly hastened by the appearance of these craven cowards and flagitious robbers in her presence with drawn revolvers. My brother had my old Colt's "Navy" laying within five feet of the door as they went out, which we both knew, and could have killed at least one of them on the spot, but we knew that such action on our part would result in our mother's immediate death.

I afterward learned that a young man named George Heady, living about half-way between Taylorsville and Bloomfield, whom I knew well, and who was in the drug store when I had paid for the medicine, was seen, soon after I left the drug store, to mount his horse and go out of town at the West end of the town, while his home was South-East of the town; and those three men that robbed us were seen to come in that night from the direction in which Heady had left in the morning, and it was the prevailing opinion of all who would express an opinion, that it was he who had given one of those guerrilla bands the information that he had obtained in the drug store.

I remained in Taylorsville after my mother's death until Thursday, April 14th, when I went to Louisville. On the Sunday night after my leaving a band of these guerrillas came into the town with the avowed intention of killing me and my brother, but our friends learned of the fact and hid my brother for the night, and the next day he also came to Louisville. We were both almost penni-

less, though not in the least discouraged, but determined to, in some way, even up the score with the guerrillas, and their sympathizers and abettors.

I decided to try and get a place in the United States Government Secret Service force, and to that end made application to Major —— in charge of the military and citizens secret service force in Louisville,—tobe placed on the work, which he promised to do in a few days, but after calling on him several times, on his own appointments, were I found "promises" only.

I, ever since I had come to Louisville, had been interviewing every-one I met in Louisville from around the localities of Taylorsville, Fairfield, and Bloomfield, with whom I was acquainted, and all information that I obtained that would be of interest or benefit to the Government Officers I would reduce to writing, and, as the State of Kentucky was under martial law, and I had learned while at my home in Taylorsville that my old friend, John A. Terrell, of Bloomfield, was the Deputy Provost Marshal for his district—he reporting to Captain Stephen E. Jones, Provost Marshal General for the Military District of Kentucky, with his Headquarters in Louisville,—I knowing of no special one to whom to furnish such information as I obtained, for the sake of my friend Terrell turned over to Captain Jones every two or three days such information as I had obtained, asking him to look it over and use it or destroy it, as he deemed it deserved; and that I was not asking, or expecting, any compensation whatever from the Government for it, but was doing what I believed a duty.

All this time I knew, and sometimes thought of Ex-Major Henry F. Kalfus being a resident of Louisville, but had scorned the idea of going to see him. I had not met my friend Terrell since my leaving the army, and did not know that he ever came to Louisville to report, but I afterward found that he had been called to Louisville about the 3rd of May by Provost Marshal General Jones on business, and that Captain Jones on the 4th of May received a very important communication by special messenger from Brig-

adier General Henry B. Carrington, Commanding the Military District of Indiana, with Headquarters at Indianapolis, requesting Captain Jones to, if possible, secure a reliable Kentuckian for a special, and extra hazardous duty in Kentucky, and Captain Jones in conferring with Mr. Terrell in regard to a man for the duty, not knowing that Mr. Terrell knew me, incidentally remarked that a man named Stidger, a discharged soldier, had been to see him several times, and giving him some valuable information, Mr. Terrell at once told him that if he could find me, and could get me to undertake so hazardous a job, he thought Captain Jones would have the man he had been asked to procure; that he (Mr. Terrell,) knew me well.

CHAPTER III.

ENGAGED FOR THIS HAZARDOUS DUTY; GIVEN VESTIBULE DEGREE OF SONS OF LIBERTY; FIRST VISIT TO BOWLES; MEETING HEFFREN IN SALEM; TO RELEASE REBEL PRISONERS; BOWLES SAID HIS HOME WAS SURROUNDED WITH SONS OF LIBERTY; MY FIRST REPORT TO CAPTAIN JONES; THE LAST INSTRUCTIONS EVER GIVEN TO ME.

On Thursday morning, May 5th, 1864, I called at Captain Jones' Office with a report of what information I had obtained in the last two or three days, handing it to him with my usual request that he look it over, and turned to leave him, when he called me back and had me take a chair beside him. He took from his desk a letter that he had received the day before from General Carrington and handing it to me, without a word of comment, simply told me to read it. From that letter I learned that Doctor William A. Bowles, the owner of French Lick Springs, in Indiana, Colonel of an Indiana Regiment in the war with Mexico, and one of the leaders in Indiana of a treasonable organization known as the "Sons of Liberty," and formerly as the "Knights of the Golden Circle," and as the "Order

of American Knights, was, in a few days going into the State of Kentucky to organize lodges of that treasonable organization, and for Captain Jones, if possible, to procure a reliable Kentuckian to watch his movements while in that State, with some other details that I do not remember. On completing the reading I replaced the letter in the envelope and returned it to Captain Jones, when he asked me if I thought I could do anything in the matter; I told him that if Doctor Bowles went into a part of the State where I was known that I could not, but if he went where I was not known I thought I could. After some further conversation he decided to try me on the matter anyway, and told me that he would put me on for one month, at the end of which time if my services proved satisfactory I would be continued in the service, but if my services were not satisfactory I would be dropped. He did not inform me that Mr. Terrell was in the city. As instruction in my duties he said I had perhaps, better go to Doctor Bowles' home at French Lick Springs, a watering place, or resort, in Orange County, Indiana, and make the Doctor's acquaintance there before he came into Kentucky, but that was all that he could say for me to do at that time; he could not even tell me how to get there.

Captain Jones then called in the messenger that had brought him the letter from General Carrington, and directed him to give me all the information that he could as to the Order of Sons of Liberty, which proved to be very little, though it sufficed as an introductory to Horace Heffren, the Deputy Grand Commander of the Order in Indiana, and to Doctor Bowles, as well as afterward to Ex-Major Doctor Kalfus; a part of which instruction was, to give me the "grip" and such other instructions as constituted what was known as the Vestibule, or Neophyte, (or initiatory, or outside,) Degree of the Order; that being all that was in the possession of any member of the Government Secret Service, and that had been but recently obtained by a man of the name of Coffin, at the town of Shoals, Martin County, Indiana, though I did not know

that for a month or so afterward; and that was as far as Coffin ever got in the Order. This messenger was James Prentice, a detailed soldier from a Michigan Regiment, and was at the time doing secret service duty under General Carrington in Indianapolis and Major
in Louisville, and as he was afterward, at my request, allowed to me by General Carrington as an assistant, I will say that I found him a mighty good man, one perfectly reliable and trustworthy, and with a qualification seldom met with, he knew how to keep his mouth shut, a very important qualification in this business. While I could use him only as an emergency messenger, yet as such, I found him invaluable.

Captain Jones asked me how soon I could be ready to start, and I told him by the first train, which did not leave until the next morning. It was understood that mine was a *special* service, and that I should not report to the chief of the Government Secret Service in Louisville, and that, in fact, he should not know that I was at work for the Government; and I never saw the Major afterward. I at once set about preparing myself as best I could for a duty that I knew nothing about. I procured me a suit of common, gray (butternut,) clothing, to conform to my new calling, and a pair of spectacles; and as my preparations were light I was ready for the next morning's train. Not knowing where to go to get to French Lick Springs, and being unable to obtain any information from any guide or railroad office I finally bought a ticket to Salem, Indiana, the County Seat of Washington County, 35 miles out from Louisville, on the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railroad. On Friday morning, May 6th, when I was in the omnibus in Louisville that was collecting the passengers for the train, when the omnibus stopped at the National Hotel, corner of Fourth and Main Streets, my old friend John A. Terrell of Bloomfield came out of the Hotel, and seeing me in the omnibus came and shook hands with me, and asked me where I was going, and I told him I was going out in the country a short distance on a trip.

As great and confidential a friend as he was I did not give him any information as to the business in which I was engaged, and he did not know until I publicly appeared as a witness at the treason trials in Indianapolis, although it was he that had recommended me to Captain Jones for the work, which I did not know until months afterward. When the train arrived at Salem, Indiana, between 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning, on inquiry I learned that I should have gone to the little town of Orleans 21 miles further on, as by private conveyance it was some thirty miles from Salem to French Lick Springs; but the train having left, and no other train in that direction until about 11 o'clock that night I had to spend the intervening time as best I could, and it proved a mighty valuable lay-off, for right there, and within less than three hours my services as a Secret Service Agent for my Government began to unexpectedly develop into a rich lead.

Being an entire stranger in the town my first act was to select a hotel at which to get my meals until train time that night; the first one I struck was the Faulkner House, which was, as I learned in a short time, owned by a Union man, Joe. Faulkner, who was also United States Deputy Marshal for that district. After getting my dinner I went on the street to take a look at the town, but before going more than two blocks I was noticed by the proprietor of a clothing store, Sam. Drom, as a stranger in the town, he stopping me to make inquiry as to where I was from, noticing at the same time my butternut suit of clothing, and on my telling him I was from Louisville he at once wanted to know if I came to see Mr. Heffren, Horace Heffren; I told him I did not, but was on my way to French Lick Springs to see Doctor Bowles, and that I did not know Mr. Heffren. In the course of conversation we each identified the other as a member of the Order of Sons of Liberty, when my new found friend told me that Horace Heffren was a lawyer, living in Salem, and was Deputy Grand Commander of the Order of Sons of Liberty for the State of Indiana, and that he (Heffren.) was expecting

a messenger from Kentucky, and that I was probably the expected messenger. This store was on one side of the public square, in which was the Court House, and Drom in looking that way saw Heffren in the court house yard and motioned to him, and Heffren came to where we were, when he was told by Drom that I was a Kentuckian, and a member of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and was on my way to see Doctor Bowles; which information seemed to satisfy Mr. Heffren that I was entitled to his confidence in matters pertaining to the Order. He asked me where I was stopping, and on my telling him, at the Faulkner House he said I should have stopped at the other hotel, the Persise House, a good Democratic house, as the proprietor of the house where I was stopping was a republican, a United States Deputy Marshal, and was at that time out of town for the purpose of arresting a soldier, a deserter from the Yankee army, but as I was going to be in town a short time it would not be worth while to change.

Heffren told me that he was daily expecting a commissioner from some rebel forces then disbanded in Kentucky for the purpose of co-operating with the Order of Sons of Liberty when they should be sufficiently organized in the States of Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Ohio, to liberate the rebel prisoners in those States, and to do all in their power to the assistance of the Confederate Government. These disbanded men in Kentucky were understood to be three of the Rebel General Forrest's Regiments already furloughed by the Confederate authorities and sent into Kentucky, and four other regiments that were to be furloughed from the same command and sent into Kentucky, all to be disbanded and await the proper time for co-operation with their allies in the North, the Sons of Liberty, and these regiments were to concentrate on a given signal whenever ordered to do so. Forrest's Command was then fresh from the Fort Pillow raid and massacre of United States Troops on April 12th, 1864. Heffren told me during our conversation that he could call together within twenty-four hours

from one thousand to fifteen hundred armed men in that section, in that secret organization; he also warned me particularly against Faulkner. A gentleman friend asked Heffren why a certain lady was sent from Kentucky to Salem, and Heffren said he did not know why it was, except that they expected trouble in Kentucky, and that Salem would be a safer place for her. Drom told me that Heffren wore a butternut pin, and there had been threats made to take it off of him, and that, if there had been any attempt made to carryout those threats there would have rallied one thousand to fifteen hundred members of the Order of Sons of Liberty to resent the insult.

Heffren had been an Indiana State Senator for four years; and had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the Federal Army in command of his regiment in East Tennessee, and had traitorously surrendered his command to an inferior Confederate force.

During the evening Faulkner returned home, and after supper he asked me to go out with him and take a look at their town. While on the street he told me that he was the United States Deputy Marshal for the district, I told him I knew It: he told me he had been out that day to arrest a deserter, I told him I knew it; after telling me several other matters of his official experience, all of which I told him I knew, as it happened that he had struck the same acts that Heffren had told me of, he wound up by saying, I might be a United States Secret Service man for all he knew, to which I replied, that I knew nothing about the business; when he said, "a good one never does;" and with that he changed the subject.

After passing the time as best I could until train time I got aboard the train and went to Orleans. The next morning I learned there was a daily conveyance during the watering season from Orleans to West Baden and French Lick Springs, leaving Orleans daily at noon. I went that day to Paoli, the County Seat of Orange County, proceeding the next morning, Sunday, May 8th, to French Lick Springs, arriving there at 11 o'clock. As Doctor Bowles

was absent from home and did not return until about night I gave my name to Mr. Banning, the keeper of Doctor Bowles' Hotel at French Lick Springs as J. J. Grundy. On this trip to Doctor Bowles I wore the spectacles that I had purchased for the occasion, as I afterward explained to him, was for the purpose of a disguise, as a United States Detective had been watching me in Louisville. Doctor Bowles' wife gave me an introduction to him on his return home that night.

My first conversation with Doctor Bowles on the subject of the Order of Sons of Liberty was on the next day, Monday. I satisfied him that I was a member of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and he then talked freely to me of the Order. He told me that I was then surrounded with members of the Order; and that he was Military Chief of the Order for the State of Indiana; that the Order was very numerous in the States of Indiana and Illinois, and was rapidly growing in Kentucky, Missouri, and Ohio; he told me that Robert Holloway, Grand Commander of the Order of Sons of Liberty for the State of Illinois, was the only perfectly reliable man that he could put his finger on in Illinois. He told me that the forces of Indiana and Ohio would concentrate in Kentucky, and make Kentucky their battle ground, and that the forces of Illinois would proceed to St. Louis, and co-operate with those of Missouri; that Illinois would furnish 50,000 men, Missouri 30,000 men, and that the rebel General Sterling Price would invade Missouri with 20,000 troops, and that with the 100,000 men they could occupy and permanently hold Missouri, while the forces from Indiana and Ohio, together with those from Kentucky and such troops as the Confederate authorities would send into Kentucky under Buckner or Breckenridge could easily hold Kentucky, or make their way into the Southern Confederacy. He told me that a Mr. Stone had organized a regiment of troops from the members of the Order of Sons of Liberty in Indiana in six weeks, and that he (Bowles.) expected Stone to raise and organize another regiment. Bowles

WILLIAM A. BOWLES,

RANKING MAJOR GENERAL, SONS OF LIBERTY, STATE OF IND.

A Treasonable Organization In The North,
During the Civil War of 1861-65.

told me that he had his command all organized but one district, and that district was being rapidly organized. There had not yet been a time set for the co-operation of these forcse, and this invasion, but that organization and preparation was rapidly progressing. Bowles told me that the Order of Sons of Liberty was the re-organization from the Knights of the Golden Circle, which had afterward become the Order of American Knights, and then the Order of Sons of Liberty. He told me that a man of the name of Dickerson, who lived in Baltimore, went to the Confederate Capital, Richmond, and back as he liked.

I remained at Doctor Bowles' four days, and returned to Louisville Thursday night, May 12th, an absence of one week.

I immediately proceeded to make a written report in detail of the information I had obtained, which I did entirely from memory, as I considered it injudicious to make any notes, or commit anything to paper, that might become mislaid, lost, or stolen, or in *any way* come into the possession of *any-one* other than the person that I wished to have it. This report made some five or six pages of full size letter paper. On Friday morning I took this report to Captain Jones' Office, but there I learned that he was in Lexington, Kentucky, for conference with Major General Stephen G. Burbridge, Commander of the Military District of Kentucky, with Headquarters at Lexington. As it was not known at his office when he would return, and as I thought it well that he might have my report to submit to General Burbridge, I decided to forward it to Captain Jones at Lexington, and being unwilling to trust it to the mail for delivery, I went to the Louisville and Lexington Railroad Depot at 1 o'clock that P. M. for the purpose of finding an Army Officer, if possible, who was going to Lexington on the train that evening. I there found an Officer dressed in the Uniform of a General's Staff Officer, who, I found upon inquiry of him, was on the Staff of General Burbridge, and asked of him if he would take, and deliver to Captain Jones, whom he said he knew

well, a sealed envelope I handed to him, which he took and delivered as requested. I was now, as Othello, without anything to do until Captain Jones returned to Louisville, which he did not do for four or five days.

As I have stated, I knew the Ex-Major of my regiment in the army, Doctor Henry F. Kalfus, was a prominent physician in Louisville, but on account of the disloyal manner in which he had been forced to leave the United States Service, I had not condescended to renew his acquaintance since my coming to Louisville, but as I was now dealing with the disloyal portion of the Government, I thought of him as one most likely to be of assistance to me, and through me be of assistance to the Government; and, as I had learned from my short connection as a "Neophyte" in the Order of Sons of Liberty the possible duties before me, and believing that Kalfus might be, and most probably was, a member of that treasonable organization, I set out to look him up. On inquiry I found he had an office on Jefferson Street, between Sixth and Seventh Sts., opposite the Jefferson County Jail; where I called on him that evening, Friday, May 13th, and renewed our old acquaintance, which I afterward found to be of the greatest advantage to myself, and of still greater advantage to my Government.

In my conversation with Doctor Kalfus I took advantage of the occasion to inform him that I had procured my discharge from service in the army of the United States, and, that I had "seen the elephant, and he had horns," and I wanted nothing more to do with the United States Army, and intimated to him that I had an intention of becoming a member of an organization that was opposed to the suppression of the rebellion and freedom of the negro, in fact, had already taken degrees in said organization, at which he became very much interested, and after having become satisfied that I was actually in possession of one or more of the Degrees of said organization he became quite communicative on the merits of the organization, and extolled its benefits as of the highest order. With an

earnest request that I should again call and confer further with him in regard to the Order, I bid him good-by, with the promise to comply with his request soon.

Monday, May 16th, I called at Captain Jones' Office to see if he had yet returned to Louisville, and was told that he would not be back until Tuesday night. I called upon Doctor Kalfus again on Tuesday in order to establish more confidential relations with him. Wednesday morning, May 18th, I called at Captain Jones' Office again, to confer with him as to the report that I had made and sent to him at Lexington, and learn what should be my next duty. I found him in his office, but he did not seem to receive my presence with an air of any appreciative satisfaction of the services of his newly appointed Secret Service Agent, but requested me to step into, and take a seat in a small room back of his office, which he used for purposes of private conversation. After a few minutes had passed he came into the private room where I was sitting on a small sofa, or lounge, and took a seat beside me. He began the conversation by informing me that he had received my report, and followed the information with the remark, that he "did not believe a word of it." While such a reception was wholly unexpected by me, it did not disconcert me in the least; and I gave him some more minute details of my trip to Mr. Heffren and Doctor Bowles. I then asked him for his reason for disbelief in my report to him, or any part of it. He replied very plainly and candidly that, "he did not see, nor *could not perceive nor understand how any man could so far ingratiate himself into the confidence of an entire stranger in so short a time,* as to obtain the information that I claimed in that report to have obtained of Horace Heffren and Doctor Bowles." As I was well aware that the contents and extent of that report would seem so unreasonable to any man of intelligence, I could only, with the self-consciousness of having made a faithful, true, and honest report of what had actually occurred, and of what I had learned from Heffren and Bowles; explaining the facts as fully as

I could to Captain Jones, and saying to him that I knew it to seem unreasonable, yet the report contained not a word but actual facts: and if I should have omitted anything that was contained in that report I would have fallen that much short of my duty to him, and to the Government. After some further conversation, and on my asking him what I should do next, after studying a minute he replied, "Well Mr. Stidger, I do not know what to tell you to do. Do whatever you think is best, and tell me what you have done." That was the last, and only word of instructions I ever received from any Officer of the United States Government as to what I should do; and as my duties developed it proved the best, and the only course the Government Officers could adopt for the perfect success that I made, as there were a great many times when, if I had have had to report and ask instructions before acting, some of my most important work would have been entirely nullified, as it sometimes *required immediate action.*

CHAPTER IV.

MY FAMILIARITY WITH THE DUTIES OF THE ASSISTANT ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE; GETTING FIRST TEMPLE DEGREE O.S.L.; VISIT TO BLOOMFIELD; GETTING SECOND TEMPLE DEGREE O.S.L.; LETTERS FROM SIDELL AND JONES TO GENERAL CARRINGTON; SECOND VISIT TO HEFFREN AND BOWLES; EXPERIMENTING WITH GREEK FIRE; BOWLES WISHED LANCES MADE IN KENTUCKY.

After leaving Captain Jones' Office I called upon Doctor Kalfus, and we had further conference in regard to the Order of Sons of Liberty, each becoming more communicative and confidential with the other as to his views of the merits and workings of the Order, and as I had learned a great-deal from Doctor Bowles in regard to its workings and ultimate designs I was enabled to impart to Kalfus information of which he before had no knowledge, and

thereby conveyed to him the impression that I was a full member of the Order, and in possession of all the Temple Degrees of the Order, though I never gave him any such information, but left him to draw his own inferences from information I was able to show him I possessed, either actually, or by implication. In speaking of our services in the army I told him I had seen the elephant and he had horns, and that I, as he, had determined to get out of the army, and, as I was out of the army I should devote my services to the Order of Sons of Liberty. He was much pleased with the idea, and knowing that my whole term of service in the army had been in the Assistant Anjutant General's Office at the Headquarters of the 1st Division, 14th Army Corps, Department of the Cumberland, and that I was as thoroughly familiar with the United States Army Regulations as any man in the service, and that in fact, to his own personal knowledge I had conducted the work of that office without the advice or assistance of the Assistant Adjutant General; and his (Kalfus,) knowledge of the military designs and intentions of the Order of Sons of Liberty, he conceived the idea that I was the very man they needed for conducting that office in said Order, which, as the Order was known as a political one, the office was designated as "Grand Secretary of State." While I was in Kalfus' Office a member was brought in to be advanced to the first regular, or Temple Degree of the Order, and Doctor Kalfus supposing, from my familiarity with the workings and designs of the Order, without examining or testing me as to how far I had advanced in the degrees of the Order, proceeded to regularly obligate, initiate and instruct the member into the First Temple Degree of the Order in my presence and hearing, thereby fully acquainting me with the obligation and form of initiation into the First Temple Degree of the Order. When I started to leave his office Doctor Kalfus urged upon me to make his office my headquarters when in the city.

While I was waiting for circumstances to develop I concluded to take a short run up to my old town of hell and

rebellion, Bloomfield. As there was only stage-coach communication three times a week I waited for the up coach, Thursday; and the State of Kentucky being then in the possession of the Federal Troops, while I was not very cordially received. I felt but little fear of being molested. I stopped off at the store where I had been formerly employed, and spent the night with my old employers, one of whom, Mr. John A. Terrell, was one of the four original Union men of the town when I lived there. I did not even then inform him of the nature of my business, but was satisfied that he drew the correct conclusion as to what it was, but at the same time he knew how to act the part of discretion. I still did not know that it was he who had recommended me to Captain Jones, On Friday I moved around among my old friends, and enemies, and in the course of conversation would give out intimations that "I had seen the elephant, and he had horns," and, while satisfying myself that the existence of the Order of Sons of Liberty was known in the town, yet there was no Temple of the Order there. I went to the extent of intimating that I was myself a member of the Order, but as there was no-one there in possession of the signs and pass-words of the Order they had no way of testing the fact as to whether I was a member or not; but as the nearest they could come to finding out they selected an old man known as "Judge" Smith to make a break at me. On Saturday morning Smith, myself, and others had been sitting in front of the village drug store, and when all had left but Smith and myself Smith remarked to me, "Stidger, these fellows all know that you are a Yankee spy, and the best thing for you to do is to leave this town as soon as possible, or you will have trouble." He had barely finished his remark when I replied, "Judge, they are exactly right; that is just what I am here for, and the first thing they know I will have the last one of them in the military prison." My assertion and acknowledgement was so sudden, unexpected, and bold, and took him so much by surprise, that he had nothing more to say, and he soon left

me and reported my reply, which had the exact effect that I expected and intended it to have. The leaders of the rebel element in Bloomfield, knowing me as well as they did, at once decided that I was true in my conversations with them, and that my services in the army had changed my ideas from hostility to the South, and that I was now in reality a friend of the South, and a worker in the Order of Sons of Liberty, an organization of which they knew of its existence, though it had no Temple in their locality. After Smith's report to them, though they did not mention the matter, they conferred freely with me as to the Order and its designs, though I did not offer to organize a Temple of the Order in their town. The fact of my having lived with Mr. Terrell's family for two years they did not consider it unusual that I should stop with him during my three days stay in the town; and Mr. Terrell did not know that I talked treason with them.

Monday, May 23rd, I returned to Louisville and reported to Captain Jones, and told him that I should again go to Doctor Bowles' and see what further I could learn from him. I called to see Doctor Kalfus and had a conference with him in regard to the Order.

It will be remembered that at the time I was first engaged by Captain Jones to undertake this hazardous business I was instructed by Prentice in the Neophyte (Vestibule or Outer Court,) Degree as far as he was able to instruct me. This degree was given me of course without an obligation; and, that on a former visit to Kalfus I had been present when he obligated and initiated a Neophyte member into the First Temple Degree of the Order. While on this visit to Kalfus, May 24th, there was a member brought to him for initiation into the Second Temple Degree of the Order, and Kalfus taking it for granted that I was a full member of the Order, from my familiarity with it, proceeded to obligate, initiate, and fully instruct the member in all the secret workings of that Degree in my presence and hearing; I thereby becoming as fully instructed in that degree without taking an obli-

gation as though I had been regularly obligated and initiated into the Order.

Official letter of Actg. Asst. Provost Marshal Genl. of Ky.

Headquarters Acting Assistant Provost Marshal General,
State of Kentucky.

Louisville, Ky., 3rd May, 1864.

Brigadier General H. B. CARRINGTON,
Indianapolis.

General:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 2nd inst. sent by Sergeant Prentice, and to state that Brigadier General Burbridge, Commanding the District, has matters of the nature communicated more immediately under his control, and has also the means of sending out proper agents, etc., which I have not; I therefore refer the communication to him, and think it judicious to advise Sergeant Prentice to bear it to him at his headquarters in Lexington.

Should the Sergeant act on this advice, and thereby over-run the time set by you for his return, I hope you will take no exceptions to his doing so.

I am very respectfully,
Your obedient servant, W. H. SIDELL,
Major 15th Infantry. A. A. P. M. for Ky.
(Actg. Asst. Provost Marshal.)

A true copy of original made this 16th day of February 1903, at Hyde Park, Mass.,

Henry B. Carrington

United States Army. (Retired.)
Late Brig. Genl. U. S. Volunteers,
Commanding District of Indiana.

Official letter of Provost Marshal Genl. Dist. of Kentucky.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY.
Office of Provost Marshal General.

Louisville, Ky., May 23rd, 1864.

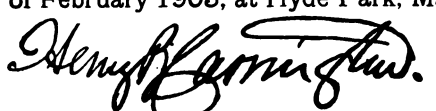
Brigadier General H. B. CARRINGTON,
Commanding District of Indiana,
Indianapolis.

General:

In compliance with the recommendation of your letter of the 2nd inst. to Major Sidell, referred by him to me, I sent to Orange County, Indiana, my most reliable Detective. Enclosed I send you copy of his report. I design sending him back in a few days, and will keep you advised of all information elicited. I have to request that you keep me advised of such information as you receive touching matters in this State. Not knowing the name of your Assistant Adjutant General I address this to you direct.

I am very respectfully,
Your obedient servant. STEPHEN E. JONES,
Capt. & A. A. C., P. M. G., D. of Ky.
(Capt. & Actg. Asst. Commissary; Provost Marshal Genl. Dist. of Ky.)

A true copy of original made this 16th day of February 1905, at Hyde Park, Mass.,



United States Army. (Retired.)
Late Brig. Genl. U. S. Volunteers,
Commanding District of Indiana.

I insert the foregoing letters as authentic confirmation of the manner in which I became associated with this treasonable organization, as I had never heard of the organization until I was shown the letter from General Carrington, to which these letters are replies.

Wednesday, May 25th, I again started for Doctor Bowles' home, and stopped off at Salem to see Heffren. Heffren told me that he had been to Indianapolis since I had seen him last, to see H. H. Dodd, the Grand Commander of the Order for the State of Indiana, and that they had concluded to call a special meeting of the Grand Council of the Order, (composed of delegates from the different Temples of the Order in the State,) to convene at Indianapolis between the 13th and 16th of June; which meeting was called for, and held, June 14th. The next regular meeting of the Grand Council of the State of Indiana would not have occurred until Saturday, October 22nd, 1864. Heffren told me there were but two men in the State who had the power to call a special meeting of the Grand Council, and they were Dodd and himself. (Heffren.) Heffren told me at that interview that the organization of the Order of Sons of Liberty for the State of Indiana was then about complete, and contained a membership of between 75,000 and 80,000 men. This consultation was held in the general sitting room of the Persise House in Salem, between 10 and 11 o'clock of the morning of May 25th. I left Salem at 11 o'clock that morning and arrived at Doctor Bowles' that evening, to find that he was absent from home, and he did not return until Saturday, the 28th, at noon. At Bowles' home no-one knew where he had gone, but he told me when he returned that he had been to Indianapolis in conference with Harrison H. Dodd, the Grand Commander of the Order for the State of Indiana, Judge Joshua F. Bullitt, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky, and Acting Grand Commander of the Order for the State of Kentucky, James A. Barrett of Missouri, and other leaders of the Order, and that Grand Commander Dodd had called a special meeting of the Grand Council of Indiana to be held in Indianapolis on Tuesday, June 14th. Bowles told me that Barrett pledged 30,000 men for Missouri, and that Illinois pledged 50,000 men. The forces of Illinois and Missouri were to co-operate with the rebel

General Sterling Price, who would have 20,000 regular Confederate troops in Missouri, if Jeff. Davis could spare that many men to be sent into Missouri; and that Indiana was pledged to furnish 40,000 of the 75,000 men belonging to the Order in that State, which, together with such forces as Ohio might furnish, and Jeff. Davis was to send into Kentucky under either General Breckenridge or Buckner, both Kentuckians, such troops as could be spared for that purpose, to co-operate with the forces from Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky, and permanently hold the State, or join the Confederate army in the South. Bowles also told me at that time of the change of the name of the Order from that of "Order of American Knights," to the Order of Sons of Liberty, and the change of the Supreme Commander from P. C. Wright of New York, to Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio, who was then residing in Canada. He told me that these changes had been made at the meeting of the Supreme Council of the Order held in New York on the 22nd day of February 1864.

Vallandigham had been arrested at his home in Dayton Ohio on May 5th, 1863, and taken to Cincinnati, where he was tried before a Military Commission on May 6th, and found guilty of using seditious language in public speeches, and sentenced to confinement and was sent to Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, and was on May 19th 1863 by order of President Lincoln banished from the United States, and sent through the lines of our army May 24th into the Southern Confederacy, through the Headquarters of the Division of our army where I was connected with the Assistant Adjutant General's Office at the time.

Bowles also told me that on the Sunday before, May 22nd, a Dutch chemist, R. C. Bocking, whom he said he had known for years, Dodd, himself, (Bowles,) and a number of other members of the Order, had spent the time in a basement in Indianapolis experimenting with Greek Fire, while the people thought they were at church. This Greek Fire was composed of Bi-sulphate of Carbon and Phosphorus, and was to be used for the destruction of

United States Government property, and that the Jeff. Davis Government was to pay the organization of the Sons of Liberty 10 per cent. of the value of all United States Government property destroyed by the use of this Greek Fire, taking the estimates as given in the Northern newspapers of the value of the property destroyed; and that two steamboats burned in the spring at the wharf in Louisville, and steamboats belonging to the United States Government that had been destroyed on the Mississippi River, and elsewhere, had been burned by this Greek Fire. Bowles also told me at this time that they had gotten the Greek Fire composition about perfect, and that Bullitt knew how it was made; and that he (Bowles,) wished me to go home and get the Order organized and spread over the State as rapidly as possible, and for me to have it impressed upon the members as fast as they were organized the idea and importance of this Greek Fire; that they would thereby become more readily and deeply interested in the Order. Bowles also wished me to see if I could not have 3,000 or 4,000 lances made for him in Kentucky, as he thought they could be made there without attracting the attention of the United States Government Authorities more readily than they could be made in Indiana. These lances he wished to have made with a spear and a hooked knife, as he thought there could be a great-deal of damage done to the enemy by using the hooked knife to cut the bridle-reins and allowing the horses to become non-guidable and unmanageable, thereby placing the rider in the power of the one having the lance; and the spear to be used for the killing or disabling of the enemy. These, supplemented by revolvers, he seemed to think would be the most demoralizing and destructive weapons that could be used against an enemy. Bowles was anxious that I should make the acquaintance of Judge (and Acting Grand Commander,) Bullitt, and assist him all I could in the organization and increasing the efficiency of the Order in Kentucky.

Before the time of this visit to Bowles I did not know

of Bullitt's connection with the Order, as in 1861, when Major General William T. Sherman was in command of the Federal Troops in Kentucky he had on November 2nd, 1861, recommended to the United States Government Authorities in Washington City the appointment of Joshua F. Bullitt, Chief Justice of the Appellate(Supreme,) Court of the State of Kentucky, as the best man to be authorized by the Government to deal with the rebellious element in the State; that the said Bullitt was a Loyal Union man. Bowles gave me a personal message to deliver to Bullitt as soon after I returned home as I could make Bullitt's acquaintance, which message was; That after Bullitt had left Indianapolis that week Bowles had seen and had a conference with Judge Andrew Humphreys, who had been acting, and aspiring to the office, as one of the four Major Generals of the Order for the State of Indiana, and that Humphreys had consented to accept the office of a Brigadier General, and take command of the forces remaining in the rear when the general uprising should occur. Bowles wished also that I should attend the meeting of the Grand Council of the State of Indiana, to be held at Indianapolis on the 14th of June.

I returned to Louisville on Monday, May 30th, and made a full and detailed report to Captain Jones of what I had learned from Heffren and Bowles on this trip, and as I was so thoroughly "mixed up" with the Order of Sons of Liberty, and with the knowledge that I could give Captain Jones no further information than was contained in my report, and knowing that the Government did not wish to, and could not give me any further information in regard to the "Order" than I already had, I considered it unadvisable to visit the Provost Marshal General's Office in person and I sent the report to Captain Jones by my brother, with the explanation as to why I did not deliver it in person. On receipt of the report Captain Jones looked it over and expressed himself to my brother as well pleased with it. Captain Jones seeing the manner in which I was handling the Order of Sons of Liberty, and

had already established, and was preparing to further establish relations with the heads of the Order far beyond any the Government had ever before been able to do, and that my relations with the Order had advanced beyond the limits of his office to handle, he directed me, through my brother, to in future make all my reports to the Post Commander in Louisville, Colonel Thomas B. Fairleigh, Colonel of the 26th Regiment Kentucky Veteran Volunteer Infantry, who had full charge of all matters pertaining to the Secret Service of the Government in Louisville.

Tuesday morning, May 31st, I called at Doctor Kalfus' Office and informed him that I had the day before returned from a second visit to Doctor Bowles, and gave him such of the information I had received from Bowles in regard to the Greek Fire, and other workings of the Order in Indiana, as I deemed advisable to give him to establish in his mind that I was actively and thoroughly at work with the leaders of the Order, and was rapidly gaining as much, or even more information as to the working of the Order than he ever knew, with which he was so well pleased that he urged me to continue in the work of the Order; and his knowing personally of the branch of the service in which I had been engaged while in the United States Army, and that during that service while he was Major of the regiment to which I belonged I had, through my position in the Assistant Adjutant General's Office at Division Headquarters, done him a number of accommodations and favors, and as he expressed himself, knowing the requirements of the Order of Sons of Liberty for a man possessing the qualifications that I had attained in that office, that he would use his influence and exertions with Judge Bullitt to obtain for me the appointment for Grand Secretary of the Order for the State of Kentucky, an office of similar rank and duties as that of Adjutant General in the Army. On my learning of Kalfus' acquaintance, familiarity, and possible influence with Judge Bullitt I told him that I was the bearer of an important personal message from Doctor Bowles to Judge Bullitt, and asked him if he would

give me an introduction to the Judge, but as he was anxious that the Judge should have the message as soon as possible, and he could not leave his office at that time to find the Judge, he went across the street to the station of one of the Louisville fire companies, which was situated on the same block, and brought over Ed. Hughes, a hose-pipe man of that company. Hughes knew the Judge well, and knew about where to find him, which we succeeded in doing in a very short time, at a saloon on the North side of Jefferson Street some two blocks East of Kalfus' Office. After an introduction to Bullitt by Hughes, and my telling Bullitt that I had a private, personal message to him from Doctor Bowles, he asked me to step out on the street with him, away from the crowd in the saloon, which we did, and I told him the message from Bowles in regard to Humphreys' willingness to accept a Brigadier Generalship in the Order, and take command of the forces remaining in the rear. Bullitt said that it suited him exactly that Humphreys was willing to take that position. After a few other remarks, and in less than five minutes after I had been introduced to Judge Bullitt, he told me, "Mr. Stidger, I have spent thousands of dollars in this affair, and I am willing to spend thousands of dollars more in it, for I hope to soon be able to *"steal"* a good living from the d-m—d s-ns of b-c—s,"* meaning by this remark, from the Government of the United States and any sympathizers and supporters of the Government. Very shortly after that remark I told Judge Bullitt that Doctor Kalfus would like to have him call at his (Kalfus,) Office as soon as he could conveniently do so, and bid him good-by and left him. I went from Bullitt back to Kalfus' Office and informed him that I had met Bullitt and delivered to him the message of Doctor Bowles, and had also told Bullitt that he (Doctor Kalfus,) would like to see Bullitt soon. I learned afterward that Bullitt called to see Kalfus that day, and that Kalfus gave him a full account of my connection with the army, my thorough acquaintance with the duties

*I know this is pretty rough language to use, but as I am giving a History of Facts I give the exact words used by Judge Bullitt. THE AUTHOR.

of the Office of Assistant Adjutant General, and that, as a Kentuckian, I had become dissatisfied with the results for which I supposed I had enlisted, that I had procured my discharge from the army, and was now a member, and in full sympathy with, and a zealous worker in the Order of Sons of Liberty; and Kalfus requested of Grand Commander Bullitt that he appoint me to the Office of Grand Secretary of the Order of Sons of Liberty for the State of Kentucky, which Office he assured Bullitt I could, and would fill to the entire satisfaction of the Grand Commander, and of the Order.

CHAPTER V.

APPOINTMENT AS GRAND SECRETARY OF THE ORDER OF SONS OF LIBERTY; GENERAL CARRINGTON BELIEVED THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOW GET THE DESIGNS OF THE ORDER; CONFERENCE AT WHICH BULLITT ORDERED COFFIN "MURDERED;" DELIVERED ORDER TO BOWLES; MY FIRST VISIT TO INDIANAPOLIS; LETTER OF INTRODUCTION TO DODD; RECEIVED RITUALS, BY-LAWS, ADDRESS, AND FULL INSTRUCTIONS FROM HARRISON; INVITED BY DODD TO ATTEND GRAND COUNCIL; MADE ACQUAINTANCE OF CARRINGTON AND MORTON.

Wednesday, June 1st. I again called at Doctor Kalfus' Office, and met Grand Commander Bullitt there, when he talked with me about my service in the army, and as to whether I was engaged in any business, and stated that Doctor Kalfus had informed him (Bullitt,) of his (Kalfus,) acquaintance with me in the army, and that he, as Grand Commander for the State of Kentucky, would like to have me accept the appointment, and perform the duties of Grand Secretary of the Order of Sons of Liberty for the State of Kentucky, and that my salary for such services would be $800.00 a year. My, ostensibly, being engaged in no other business I accepted his offer of the appoint-

ment, and expressed my readiness to begin the active duties of the Office at any time. Doctor Kalfus acting in the duties of the Office at the time, was directed by Grand Commander Bullitt to turn over the roll-book and duties of the Office to me, and to assist me with such instructions and advice as I might require until I became familiar with the duties of my Office.

After my return from my visit to Bloomfield and calling on Captain Jones I had not delivered any of my reports in person, and after Captain Jones' instructions that they be delivered to Colonel Fairleigh, Post Commander in Louisville, they had all been delivered either by my brother, who was unknown to any of the members of this treasonable organization, or by James Prentice, who had brought the letter from General Carrington at Indianapolis, and who had been directed by General Carrington to remain in Louisville to render me such assistance as messenger, or whatever service he could be of to me. Prentice having returned to Indianapolis once, after my first visit to Bowles, to report to General Carrington the success of his trip to Louisville with the letter to Captain Jones, and General Carrington believing, from the report made to him by Prentice of my first trip to Bowles that at last the Government may have secured a man through whom it seemed likely to obtain some of the designs of these conspirators, as he (Carrington,) had at that time eighteen men at work trying to obtain their intentions, with but barely *one* of them having gained any headway, and he only as far as the Neophyte, or outside Degree—so General Carrington was perfectly willing and anxious, that Prentice should return to Louisville and assist me what he could, and the General himself in that way be kept as fully informed as possible as to what was doing in Kentucky, as he did not expect at that time that I would make such headway in the Order that some of my most important work in the future would be done in Indiana, and reported to him direct, and personally by me in Indianapolis; as, to this time, while all the "secrets" of the Order, its oaths, signs, and

JOSHUA F. BULLITT,

CHIEF JUSTICE APPELLATE COURT, STATE OF KENTUCKY,
Grand Commander for State of Kentucky Sons of Liberty.
A TREASONABLE ORGANIZATION IN THE NORTH DURING THE
CIVIL WAR OF 1861-65.

pass-words, were all discovered as often as they were changed, no discovery of the schemes, or intentions of the Order had ever been obtained by the Government, and they were entirely "in the dark" as to what the ultimate intentions of the Order were.

Thursday morning, June 2nd, having established my Office of Grand Secretary in the office of Doctor Kalfus at his request, (and to save paying office rent,) Kalfus and I were in my office when Grand Commander Bullitt came in, and soon after came in one at a time, B. B. Piper of Springfield, Illinois; Doctor Chambers of Warsaw, Gallatin County, Kentucky; and Dent W. C. Whips, proprietor of the Willard Hotel, in Louisville. Doctor Chambers had come to Louisville for the purpose of getting full and correct instructions for the thorough organization of the Order in Gallatin County, as they had, so far, only obtained partial instructions for the working of the Order in their County. The six of us, Bullitt, Piper, Chambers, Kalfus, Whips, and myself, were present while Grand Commander Bullitt was giving the instructions to Doctor Chambers, and during the instructions Bullitt mentioned the name of one "Coffin" who was in the room with Bowles, Bullitt, and some others, when Bowles gave Bullitt the Neophyte, or Vestibule Degree of the Order. At the mention of the name "Coffin" Doctor Chambers immediately and eagerly inquired as to the appearance and description of Coffin, and on Bullitt giving him a description of the kind of looking man he was Chambers at once pronounced him a d-m—d Yankee Spy, and said that he knew Coffin well when he (Coffin,) lived in Warsaw at the beginning of the civil war, and that he had been driven out of the County for his yankee spying, and that he was satisfied that this Coffin was the same man. Bullitt was greatly worried that this man had been present at his initiation into the Neophyte Degree of the Order, and on discussion of the matter for less than five minutes Bullitt expressed the decision that that man should be "murdered;" and turning to the corner of the office where I was sitting he gave

me the order, "Stidger, go to Doctor Bowles' tomorrow and tell him the fact that this man Coffin is a Yankee Spy, and as it was through him that this man Coffin got into the Order that he must get him (Coffin.) down into his (Bowles.) locality and have him murdered." Bullitt was very emphatic in using the word "murdered!" I am here willing to admit that at this expression I, sitting back there in one corner of my little 5x8 ft. office, felt somewhat of a startled sensation at the receiving so emphatic an order, and thinking to myself, What would you men do to me if you knew Who you was giving that order to? A man a thousand times worse for you than Coffin can ever be. I did not feel any fear, either for myself, or for Coffin, whoever he might be, for I had never heard of him before; but Knowing the information that I had obtained from the leaders of the Order and furnished to the United States Government Officers it was impressed very forcibly upon me what would be my fate should I ever be even suspicioned by any of them. Bullitt gave me a check for $25.00 to pay my expenses on this order; the only money I ever received from the Order to pay traveling expenses or salary except what I collected on initiations by me.

I had entered the service of the Government without any conception whatever of the enormity of this gigantic conspiracy against the Government, and it seemed the more I learned of the Order the more atrociously vicious, —embracing everything these words convey,—this Order became; but as I had begun it with the intention of furnishing my Government with all the information I could gain of the Order, and to that end had sought and succeeded in attaining a High Office in the Order, I felt it was now my duty to proceed to the utmost of my ability even though my life should be the penalty paid.

As soon as this conference ended and those composing it had left my office, I went out on the street and looked up my assistant, Mr. Prentice, and asked him if he knew a man of the name of Coffin, and he told me that he did; that he was one of our men in Indianapolis. I gave Pren-

tice an account of the conference of the morning, and of the orders that I had received in regard to Coffin, which I was to convey to Doctor Bowles the next day, and I gave Prentice $5.00 and instructions to go to Indianapolis on the first train that evening and notify Coffin of his danger, and warn him against going into Bowles' neighborhood again. I then made a written report of recent occurrences and sent it by my brother to Colonel Fairleigh in Louisville. When I reported to Miss McGill at 8 o'clock that night the errand on which I was going to Bowles' the next day she shuddered at the hazard I was taking, and the thought of my going to order a fellow-man murdered, but when I explained to her that I had already sent a messenger to that man to warn him of his danger she was satisfied that I was doing what I in my judgement considered was best, and that it was all right with her. We had such confidence in eachother that whatever either thought best the other was perfectly satisfied with.

Friday morning, June 3rd, I started to deliver my order to Doctor Bowles. I arrived at Paoli, the County Seat of Orange County, about two o'clock that evening and found Doctor Bowles there, which saved me the further journey to his home at French Lick Springs. I reported to Doctor Bowles the proceedings of the conference held in Louisville the day before, and the orders of Grand Commander Bullitt that he (Bowles,) have Coffin got down into his (Bowles,) jurisdiction and murdered. Bowles told me that he knew that two men at Shoals, the County Seat of Martin County, (adjoining Orange County,) had initiated Coffin into the Neophyte Degree only, of the Order, and that he knew that Coffin had been in the United States employ, but that he could explain that to the satisfaction of any-one; but he would put two men on Coffin's track. He gave the names of the two men, but I did not remember them. He did not seem to think that Coffin was a dangerous man at-all. At this conference with Bowles I revealed to him my true name of F. G. Stidger, and explained to him why I had registered at the hotel in

Salem, and at his hotel at French Lick Springs, under the assumed name of J. J. Grundy on my first and second visits to his house. I told him that when I came to Louisville I had been watched on the street by United States Detectives, (which was true, from the fact that I wore partly blue and partly gray clothing which seemed to make me an object of suspicion with them,) and I told Bowles that to avoid being troubled with them I had concluded to go some-where-else, and that I came to his house for congenial companionship. I told Doctor Bowles at this time that I had received the appointment from Grand Commander Bullitt to the Office of Grand Secretary of State for the State of Kentucky, in the Order of Sons of Liberty, at which he was very much delighted, and reminded me of the called meeting of the Grand Council of the Order of Sons of Liberty for the State of Indiana to be held at Indianapolis June 14th, and again expressed the wish that I should attend the meeting if I could possibly do so. I told Bowles that I was then going to Indianapolis, and was the bearer of a letter of introduction from Grand Commander Bullitt to Grand Commander Harrison H. Dodd of Indiana, who lived and did business in Indianapolis. As there was no conveyance back to Orleans until the next morning I remained in Paoli that night and resumed my journey to Indianapolis Saturday, June 4th.

I arrived in Indianapolis Saturday night, and as it was the first time that I had ever been in Indianapolis I had directed Mr. Prentice before he left Louisville to meet me at the depot that night, which he did, and went with me to the Palmer House where I stopped during that trip.

Sunday morning, June 5th, I met Mr. Prentice by appointment on Washington Street, and we soon afterward met Coffin and I was given an introduction to him and had about three minutes conversation with him, which was the only time I ever spoke to him until after I had appeared on the witness stand against Dodd on September 27th, though I saw him several times during that time when I would be in Indianapolis. Grand Commander Bullitt had

given me before I left Louisville a letter of introduction to Grand Commander Dodd, and had also given me explicit directions how to go from the Palmer House to find Dodd's Office at 16 East Washington Street without having to make any inquiries that might attract the suspicion of Detectives. or any-one-else, that I was a stranger in Indianapolis. Dodd not being in his office I inquired of parties in the building as to where he lived, and went out to his house. I was told at his home that he had gone down town and that I would most likely find him at the Office of Mr. Joseph J. Bingham, publisher of the Indiana State Sentinel. I then went to the Office of the Sentinel and found Dodd there, and gave him the letter of introduction from Grand Commander Bullitt, which he read and handed to Mr. Bingham and Doctor R. J. Gatling, the latter being the inventor of the Gatling Gun which discharged the small shells from a magazine at the rate of some hundreds a minute by the turning of a crank.

Copy of letter of introduction:

H. H. DODD.

DEAR SIR:

My friend Mr. F. G. Stidger goes to Indianapolis on business, in which I think it probable that you can aid him. He is entirely reliable, and any aid you can give him will confer a favor on Your friend, J. F. BULLITT.

Louisville, June 2nd, 1864.*

Office of Judge Advocate General, Washington, D. C., April 2, 1903. Official Copy. GEO. B. DAVIS, J. A. G.

After they had read the letter of introduction Dodd gave me an introduction to both of them and invited Doctor Gatling and myself to go with him to his office. Gatling did not go at that time but came into Dodd's Office a short time afterward and staid a few minutes. While Doctor Gatling was in Dodd's Office I spoke to him of his invention, the celebrated Gatling Gun, and he told me that

*The original of this letter in Bullitt's handwriting is in the file of the trial of Dodd in the Office of the Judge Advocate General of the Army at Washington, D. C. THE AUTHOR.

he was glad the Government did not take it, —that is, buy the patent of it from him,—as he wanted the patent for the South, and that he had made arrangements to send a man to Europe to have it patented there and manufactured for the use and benefit of the South. I knew that the Government had, for his disloyalty, confiscated the use of his patent in the United States, and did not allow the gun manufactured in the United States except by the Government. I gave Dodd a detailed account of the discovery of Coffin as a United States Detective, and of the orders Grand Commander Bullitt had given me to report to Doctor Bowles, and the statement of Bowles that he would put two men on Coffin's track.

Bullitt had, when in Indianapolis, got a copy of Dodd's Address to the Grand Council of Indiana February 16th, and some other works of the Order, but Dodd's Grand Secretary, William M. Harrison, had neglected to put in any copies of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Order, and I told Dodd that Bullitt desired me to get some copies of each for use in Kentucky until we could have some printed for our State. Dodd not having any in his possession, and Harrison not being in his Office Dodd inquired of persons in the building as to where Harrison lived, and some-one telling him he and I went out to Harrison's house, and Dodd showing Harrison my letter of introduction from Bullitt, told Harrison that I would like to see him at his Office that evening, and get some copies of the Constitution and By-Laws for the use of the Order in Kentucky until we could have some of our own printed. After leaving Harrison's house Dodd told me of the meeting of the Grand Council of the Order of Sons of Liberty in the State of Indiana that had been called by him to meet on Tuesday, June 14th, in Indianapolis, and expressed his desire that I should attend said meeting of the Grand Council if I possibly could do so, and I promised him that I would attend. I met Harrison at his Office at 16 East Washington Street at 2 o'clock that P. M., where he gave me two copies each of the Rituals and of the Constitution

and By-Laws of the Order, and of the printed Address of Grand Commander Dodd delivered at the regular meeting of the Grand Council on the 16th and 17th of February. As the "Order" was "young" in Kentucky, in order to better enable me to properly organize and correctly instruct the members in our State in the correct manner of the use of the Ritual, Constitution, and By-Laws, Harrison went through the whole proceedings of the written and unwritten (or secret) work of the Order with me, beginning at the Neophyte and going through the First, Second, and Third Temple Degrees of the Order, without testing or questioning me as to any part of the work in which I had or had not been initiated or instructed; I thereby becoming fully instructed in all the obligations, grips, signs, and pass-words of the Order from the Neophyte to the Highest Temple Degree without having taken any one of the obligations of any of the Degrees of the Order.

The printed works of the Order given to me by Harrison were the Ritual of the Knights of the Golden Circle, which was also the Ritual of the Order of American Knights, and with a very few changes was the Ritual of the Vestibule, or Neophyte Degree of the Order of Sons of Liberty; the Constitution and By-Laws of the County Temples, and the Constitution and Laws of the Grand Council of the Sons of Liberty for the State of Indiana, and the Constitution and Laws of the Supreme Council of the Order. These were contained in three small pamphlets about 3x5 inches, and containing from twelve to twenty pages each, printed in small type. After receiving these pamphlets and the instructions, and copies of Dodd's Address I bid Mr. Harrison good-by and immediately went to meet Mr. Prentice, by appointment, on Tennessee Street near North-East corner of Washington, where we went North a short distance and in through the back end of a lot where it was pretty well filled with old parts of farm machinery from the agricultural implement store fronting on Washington Street; climbing over them we went up an old rickety back stairway to a room over the Theatre,

where General Carrington had his Headquarters and Office in front of this room, and used this room in connection for storage purposes. We took this route as I did not wish to be noticed going directly from the Head Office of these conspirators to the Headquarters of the General Commanding the United States Troops in the State of Indiana. Mr. Prentice went into General Carrington's Office to see that there was no-one there that I would not wish to meet. General Carrington having been kept advised as to my progress in the Order of Sons of Liberty, and having been notified by Mr. Prentice that I was in Indianapolis and would call at his office between three and four o'clock that evening we found him in his office alone. It being the first time I had ever met General Carrington, after an introduction I gave him a detailed account of my information of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and of its workings in Kentucky and Indiana, which contained many points of value that he had not before learned of; of my interview with Bowles of the day before, and, with Dodd and Harrison on that day; of the called special meeting of the Grand Council of the Order for the State of Indiana to be held in Indianapolis on June 14th; and showed him the Rituals, Constitutions, and By-Laws of the Order, and the Address of Grand Commander Harrison H. Dodd, that I had just received from Grand Secretary Harrison. After looking over the pamphlets the General asked me if he could have them for that night, so that he could copy them and have exact duplicate copies printed, which I told him he certainly could. Mr. Prentice and I then left General Carrington's Office by the way in which we came, and the General immediately went to his home and sent for his Assistant Adjutant General and another one of his Staff Officers, and the three of them sat up all that night making exact copies of the pamphlets, line for line, and with every punctuation, and incorrections in the originals plainly noted, that the printer could make exact duplicate copies in every respect, even to the tearing out a very small piece of the inside corner of the back cover of each,

as each was bound in a different color of paper, the small piece appearing to have been torn out in the trimming of the pamphlet, making it unnoticable without inspection.

Extract from War Records of the Civil War 1861-65. Series 2. Volume VII, pages 341-42, is the following report: Headquarters Northern District of Indiana.

Indianapolis, June 6th, 1864.

Col. C. H. Potter, Asst. Adjt. Genl.,

Columbus, Ohio.

* * * I have had the Rituals and Constitutions of these bodies (Order of Sons of Liberty,) in my possession long enough to make copies; also the Address of the State Grand Commander, (H. H. Dodd,) a copy of which I had made from the original. * * One of the high officials of the Order from Kentucky left Indianapolis this morning with the cipher, seal, and private books required for use there. He is charged with its dissemination, but is in my confidence. H. B. CARRINGTON,

Brig. Genl. Commanding District.

Governor Oliver P. Morton having been informed by General Carrington of the position I had attained in the treasonable organization of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and knowing the importance to the people of his State of the information that I could give him, and having met Mr. Prentice during the day and learned from him that I was in Indianapolis he told Mr. Prentice to ask me if I could call and see him at his private office in his residence that night, when there would be but very little travel on the street in that part of the city. Mr. Prentice and I, following the precedent of Doctor Bowles and others on Sunday when they were experimenting on their Greek Fire "while other people were at church," at 8-30 o'clock that night when the streets were free from people going to church, called at Governor Morton's residence, and I explained to the Governor the details of the workings of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and their designs and purposes as far as I had to that time learned them, giving him a great-deal of information that he said to that time he had known noth-

ing about, and that from the hour's conversation with me he had learned more of the designs and intentions of these d-mn—ble conspirators than he had ever been able to learn before. After receiving the thanks of the Governor for the information given him we left him, and "escaped" the notice of passers by on the street. Early Monday morning General Carrington returned the pamphlets to me through Mr. Prentice, and I left Indianapolis about 8 o'clock on the train for Louisville. Arriving at Louisville at 2 o'clock P. M. I went at once to my office, anxious to learn if anything of importance had transpired in Louisville while I had been absent; knowing the character and desperation of the men I was dealing with in Kentucky, that if they got any hint during my absence of my real occupation that I would be shot down immediately on my entrance into my office. I had just had a forcible illustration of what my award would be if they had even a suspicion of me. I found Doctor Kalfus and some other members of the Order in the office, and I gave to Kalfus an account of my interview with Bowles, and of my trip to Indianapolis, and gave him a copy of each of the pamphlets, and Dodd's Address, that I had obtained from Harrison, and he was exceedingly pleased at my thoughtfulness in getting copies for him as well as for Grand Commander Bullitt. There having been nothing of any consequence transpiring during my absence I again took up the regular duties of my Office of Grand Secretary, and proceeded to the initiation of such men as were brought to me and properly vouched for by parties I knew to be members of the Order; collection of the initiation fee, and, as directed by Grand Commander Bullitt, applying same to the payment of my salary, as far as it would go; the total of which, during the two and one-half months I was at work for the Order of Sons of Liberty, including the check for $25.00 I had received from Bullitt, amounting to the "munificent" sum of $65.00, which was all I ever received from them for my services and traveling expenses; and I have reason to believe that in the end they even thought

was almost too much. I made a full report to Colonel Fairleigh of what I had been to Doctor Bowles' for, and what I had accomplished and learned in Indianapolis.

CHAPTER VI.

INITIATED A UNITED STATES DETECTIVE; REFUSED TO ACCEPT A POSITION IN UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S OFFICE; ATTENDED MEETING OF INDIANA GRAND COUNCIL JUNE 14TH; NAMES OF SOME OF THOSE PRESENT; AT MEETING RECEIVING VALLANDIGHAM AT HAMILTON, OHIO, JUNE 15TH; MY BEING SUSPICIONED, AND ELECTED GRAND SECRETARY OF THE ORDER; NOTIFIED OF THE SUSPICION; HOW I EXPLAINED IT.

I will state here; that I was told by Provost Marshal General, Captain Jones when he employed me, that I would receive a salary from the Government of $100.00 a month during the time that my services were considered of use, but that mine was not a permanent employment. There was no stipulation made as to whether I would have to pay my own traveling expenses out of my salary, or that the Government would allow me my traveling expenses in addition to my salary. My first month's services having ended I made a requisition on the Government for one month's salary, and added $35.00 for traveling expenses, which requisition I sent by my brother to Colonel Fairleigh, the Post Commander. A few days afterward I received from Major General Stephen G. Burbridge, Commanding the District of Kentucky, at Lexington, through Colonel Fairleigh, $35.00, with no explanation for the nonpayment of salary, continuance in the employ of the Government, or anything-else; and from that time on I sent in requisitions at the end of each month's service for all salary due and included the traveling expenses of each month, but never heard one word from any of them, and when I had finished my employment, September 1st, I sent in a requisition for the four months salary and three months ex-

penses, which I never heard from. The first of each succeeding month I sent in a requisition for salary and expenses due on the first of September, but never received one word of reply from any one of them. After waiting until about the first of February 1865 I sent Mr. Prentice from Indianapolis, where I was then living, to Lexington with a request that I be paid, when General Burbridge ordered that the whole amount be paid, including Mr. Prentice's expenses in coming for it. I state this so fully, from the fact that it has often been stated by my enemies that I was merely a mercenary, working in the hope of getting a reward for the trapping of these conspirators into the power of the Government, while from this statement of the facts it will readily be seen by any-one that I was at work for the interests of my Government, regardless of the time and money of my own that I was spending, as well as what I could borrow to pay my traveling expenses, or I would have quit when my salary and traveling expenses were continuously unpaid.

During the next few days after June 6th I initiated several men who were brought to me and properly vouched for by members of the Order, among them being one man who was highly recommended for membership, who, when requested to sign the roll of membership signed the name "Hall," as his surname, which name I instantly recognized as a man that had two years before been driven from his home for being an out-spoken "black Republican." I asked Hall if he did not live out along the Bardstown Turnpike, some five or six miles from Louisville, when he told me that he had lived there some time before, but did not live there at this time. I knew then that he was the man that I had taken him for, and that he was one of Major

United States Detectives, but as he had been brought to me by a man I *knew* to be a *bona-fide* member of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and properly vouched for by him, I proceeded to give Hall the grip, signs, pass-word, and full instructions of the First Temple Degree of the Order, without questioning him further as to his *past* rec-

ord. I *knew* he did not know me, nor have any suspicion but what I was a genuine member of the Order.

About this time I met on the street my friend Major William P. McDowell, who had been the Assistant Adjutant General of the Division, and under whom I had served a part of the time while I was in the army, he having been transferred to another Command the latter part of my service. I had met McDowell once before since my coming to Louisville, and told him I was looking for employment, this before I began work for the Government. McDowell told me at this time meeting him that he had been looking for me for two weeks; that there was a vacancy in the United States Marshal's Office, and that he (McDowell,) had been working there for that time holding the place until he could find me, and that I could take the place as soon as I wished. I made excuse to him that I was so situated at that time that I could not take it, and thanked him all I could for the friendship he had shown me in holding the place for me; but even as good a friend as he was I felt that it would not do for me to give him the true reason why I did not accept the place, and I did not give him any reason. He a few months afterward learned the true reason, and gave me credit for my discretion. I reported to Bullitt and Kalfus the offer I had to go to work in the United States Marshal's Office, and they thought it was the very thing for me to do, and that I could then learn a great-deal of what the Government was doing and intended to do, and report to them and keep them better posted, but as I could not in that way keep myself thoroughly posted as to what *they* were doing and intending to do, I succeeded in satisfying them that I could do far more for the Order by remaining in active work with the Order than I could possibly do in the Marshal's Office, and they concluded themselves that my services were more valuable where I was. In the reporting to them of this offer of employment in the United States Marshal's Office, and my explanations to them of my reasons why I did not think it best to accept the posi-

tion, I established a greater confidence with them of my sincerity in the work of the Order of Sons of Liberty.

I made the acquaintance in Louisville of a member of the Order of the name of Matthews, who owned a feed and commission store on the East side of Third Street, between Main Street and the Ohio River, with whom I had several important conferences afterward; and I also made the acquaintance of a man, whose name I do not remember, but who had formerly been a law partner of the Hon. William L. Yancy, of Georgia. This man was then employed by the United States Sanitary Commission in Lquisville, in charge of the funds, and Disbursing Officer for said Commission; both of whom, Matthews and the Sanitary Commission Disbursing Officer, were prominent members of the Order of Sons of Liberty. I made written reports regularly and daily of all these occurrences, and sent them by my brother to Post Commander Fairleigh.

Monday night, June 13th, I went to Indianapolis for the purpose of attending the meeting of the Grand Council of Indiana to be held on the 14th. Tuesday morning, the 14th, I called on Grand Commander Dodd at his Office about 8 o'clock, and he informed me that the Grand Council would convene at 10 o'clock in the hall on the fourth floor of that building, and that he wished me to be present. I went to the hall a short time before the meeting was called to order by Grand Commander Dodd, and finding Doctor Bowles there was given an introduction to several of the members present. When the Council was to be called to order I took a seat back of the center of the hall, and when the Grand Commander arose to call the Council to order he called the attention of the members to the presence of the Grand Secretary of the Order for the State of Kentucky who was there by his invitation, and, though not a member of the Council, he asked that I be permitted to remain, a spectator of the proceedings of the Council, which permission was given unanimously. The Grand Commander then called for the credentials of the delegates to the Council, and all delegates who had not

previously attended, and been initiated and instructed in the Grand Council Degree of the Order, were told to rise from their seats and take the obligation and be instructed in the Degree. My having no connection whatever with any Temple of the Order in Indiana, and not being a delegate to the Grand Council of Indiana. I did not rise, nor appear in any other way than as a spectator. The Grand Commander then administered the obligation to all those standing, and instructed them in the grip, signs, and password of the Grand Council Degree of the Order. The pass-word was "America." It will be noted that I had now obtained the grips, signs, and pass-words, and all instructions, written and unwritten, of the Neophyte, First, Second, and Third Temple, and the Grand Council Degrees, the five degrees, without having taken any obligation of any one of the five Degrees.

There were about forty members of the Order present at this meeting, only the Parent County Temples being entitled to representation in the Grand Council, the branch Temples being represented by the Parent County Temple; Grand Commander Harrison H. Dodd, Grand Secretary William M. Harrison, Major General William A. Bowles, Major General Lambdin P. Milligan, Major General John C. Walker, Brigadier General Andrew Humphreys, Doctor James S. Athon Secretary of State for the State of Indiana, Doctor Richard J. Gatling inventor of the Gatling Gun, Judge Borden of Allen County, Mr. McBride of Evansville, Mr. Everett of Vanderberg County, Mr. Myers of Laporte County, Mr. L. Leach of Burnt District, Union County, A. D. Raga of New Amsterdam, Mr. LaSalle of Cass County, Doctor Lemons, Mr. Otey, Mr. Thompson, and Stephen Horsey.

It was reported to General Carrington by some of his detectives that there were delegates from Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan, present at this meeting, while I know that there was not a man in that room besides myself but Officers and members of the Order delegates from Temples of the Order in Indiana.

Grand Commander Dodd after satisfying himself that all present were members of the Grand Council and entitled to remain, proceeded to declare the Grand Council duly opened, and ready to proceed with such business as might properly be brought before it. He delivered a short Address in which he said he wanted the meeting to define the politics of the Order, that if the Order had any politics he wanted to know what they were. He then proceeded to the appointment of Committees, the most important of which was the Committee on Military Organization, consisting of Major Generals William A. Bowles and Lambdin P. Milligan, Doctor Richard J. Gatling inventor of the Gatling Gun, Mr. McBride of Evansville, and a fifth member whose name I do not remember. They made a report setting forth their views; That the Order should be organized at once as a Military Organization, and fully armed and equipped for military duty in the field. In connection with the military working of the Order McBride said that he had men working in the Loyal League (Republican Organization.)as spies, who reported to him every-thing that was done in that organization, and Harrison, the Grand Secretary, also stated they had men from outside of the Order of Sons of Liberty, so that they could not act both ways, employed as spies in the Loyal League and acting for the benefit of the Order of Sons of Liberty. There was a committee of three appointed, consisting of Doctor James S. Athon, Secretary of State for the State of Indiana, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. McBride, to examine an invention submitted by a member of the Order, which committee reported that the invention was a good one, and ought to be adopted by the Order. They recommended that it be turned over to the Committee of Thirteen, who should distribute it to those members of the Order that in their judgement might be intrusted with it. This, I learned afterward, was Bocking's Greek Fire. The question was discussed at length as to how this Committee of Thirteen should be appointed, whether by the Grand Council or by the Grand Commander. It was fin-

ally decided that the Committee of Thirteen should be appointed by the Grand Commander, and that the names of the members composing that Committee should be known only by the Grand Commander, and not even to the members of the committee themselves until they should be called into session by him. The Committee of Thirteen should be for the purpose of taking the place of the sessions of the Grand Council when that Council was not in session, and that its acts should be as valid, lawful, and binding on the members of the Order as the acts of the Grand Council in session would be. At this meeting there were delegates elected to represent the Order for the State of Indiana in the Supreme Council of the Order. Dodd, Bowles, Milligan, and Walker, by virtue of their Offices as Grand Commander and Major Generals of the Order for the State of Indiana, were *ex-officio* members of the Supreme Council, and J. G. Davis and Mr. LaSalle were elected delegates to the Supreme Council.

During the sessions of this meeting of the Grand Council the United States Government was stigmatized as a "tyranical usurpation," and should be overthrown.

The question of S. P. Coffin being a United States Detective and having obtained initiation into the Neophyte, or Vestibule Degree of the Order was brought up in the Council and discussed at great length. McBride said he knew the man well as a United States Government Detective, and that he (Coffin,) had induced several citizens of Evansville to ship contraband goods to the South, and that Coffin would then report the shipment to the Government Officers and the goods would be seized and confiscated. Dodd also spoke strongly on the matter and advised the having Coffin disposed of. It was known there was to be a large Democratic Mass Meeting and Convention held at Hamilton, Ohio, the next day, Wednesday, at which Clement L. Vallandigham was to be present, he returning home that day from Canada where he had been living most of the time after his banishment into the Confederate lines in May 1863, and that he would make a

HORACE HEFFREN,

DEPUTY GRAND COMMANDER, SONS OF LIBERTY, STATE OF IND.

A Treasonable Organization In The North,
During the Civil War of 1861-65.

speech at that meeting; and as Coffin had not been seen about Indianapolis for several days it was confidently believed that he also would be at Hamilton, and Dodd volunteered to go to Hamilton, and if Coffin was there to pick a quarrel with him, and shoot and kill him, and asked that the Council appoint a committee to go with him to render him any assistance that might be necessary. McBride said that he would like well to go, but that his business was such that he could not do so. The Council did not seem disposed to appoint any-one that was unwilling to go, and the committee was not appointed. Dodd then invited all who might wish to go to Hamilton the next day to accompany him. As soon as the Council adjourned in the evening session I went to meet Mr. Prentice, whom I had with me in Indianapolis in case I should need him for any emergency messenger duty, and I explained to him the occurrences of the day, requesting him to report them to General Carrington, and for him to then take a train for Hamilton that night and if Coffin was in Hamilton to warn him to leave there, as his life probably depended upon it, that Prentice and I would be there to see what occurred.

The train for Hamilton the next morning left Indianapolis about daylight, so I got up very early and started for the railroad depot. Thers was no moon shining and the streets were dimly lighted. As I passed along Washington Street near Illinois on my way to the depot I passed within two feet of Coffin coming from the direction of the depot, looking as though he had been on the train all night, and was tired and sleepy. Having his head down he did not notice me, but I knew then that he would not be in Hamilton. When I got to the train I found Dodd, Bowles, and Milligan already there. They expressed themselves as both surprised and pleased that I was going with them, as I had not intimated to any-one that I was going to Hamilton. When we reached Richmond, Indiana, I saw Mr. Prentice come aboard the train, as he told me afterward that the train he had taken had failed to make connection for Hamilton. As soon as I could I informed Prentice of

my having seen Coffin in Indianapolis that morning, and that he (Prentice,) could go to Louisville at any time he wished. On arriving at Hamilton Dodd, Bowles, Milligan and myself, deeming it as well that we should not be seen together we separated, each to hunt for Coffin. Along in the evening, after Vallandigham had finished speaking, I looked up Dodd and Bowles to bid them good-by, when they anxiously inquired of me if I had seen Coffin, and I told them that I did not know the man, when they remembered that I had previously told them I did not know him. They said that they had hunted for him but could not find him, and that they did not believe he was there. I went to Cincinnati that night, and to Louisville Thursday, June 16th.

Coffin knowing Doctor Chambers well, and being quite self-important, conceived the idea, and did actually send word into Warsaw, and Gallatin County, Kentucky, of his knowledge of the intended assassination of himself, and this at the very time that I was still further trying to protect him from assassination at the meeting at Hamilton. During my absence from Louisville there was a meeting of leading members of the Order in the State of Kentucky held in one of the rooms of the old Galt House, then at Main and Second Streets, in Louisville, for the purpose of organizing a Grand Council for the State of Kentucky, and election of Officers for the same. At this meeting Judge Joshua F. Bullitt, Chief Justice of the Appellate (Supreme) Court of the State of Kentucky was unanimously elected Grand Commander of the Order of Sons of Liberty for the State of Kentucky, he heretofore having been acting in that Office. When nominations for the Office of Grand Secratary for the State was called for my name was proposed for election to that Office, whereupon an objection was announced, setting forth the ordering of the murder of a Yankee Detective and the warning having been given that detective, and of the detective having notified parties at his old home in Warsaw and Gallatin County of his knowledge of the intention to murder him: the party making the objection in the Council

going on to state that I had myself until very lately been in the Yankee Army, and as there was no-one-else likely to give this information to Coffin but me, that he had been notified by me, and that I was myself more deserving of being murdered than of being elected Grand Secretary of this "Grand" Order. As Judge Bullitt was himself acting Grand Commander of the Order until he should be regularly installed as the Officer elected to that position he immediately arose from his chair and entered upon a vigorous defense in my behalf, and as it was HE who was most deeply interested against Coffin, and HE who had given the order for the murder of Coffin, and that he *knew* I was innocent of the charge alleged against me, and that I had been so faithfully and energetically, and competently filling the Office under his appointment, it was his earnest desire that I should be elected to the Office of Grand Secretary of the Order for the State of Kentucky. After Bullitt's earnest appeal all objections were withdrawn, and I was unanimously elected to fill the Office, and after the election of Delegates to the Supreme Council, the appointing of some committees, and the transaction of some unimportant business the Grand Council adjourned to such time as the Grand Commander should call it to convene. When I returned to Louisville and went to my Office, I met Kalfus and Thomas on the outer edge of the sidewalk in front of my office. As they knew that I had been attending a meeting of the Grand Council of the State of Indiana they warmly welcomed me home. Before going into the office Kalfus gave me a full account of the meeting in Louisville, and of Bullitt's unanimous election to the Office of Grand Commander for the State, and of the controversy over my nomination for the Office of Grand Secretary, of Bullitt's warm and earnest defense for me, and of my unanimous election to the Office of Grand Secretary for the State. Kalfus was himself one of the delegates present at the meeting, and knew personally all the details. I at once—using a slang phrase flew off the handle, and told Kalfus and Thomas that I

would not accept the Office, and would not act as Grand Secretary of the Order any longer; and used some pretty harsh language for such suspicion, when I had worked as faithfully as I had for the Order; had traveled day and night at work for it; had used every dollar of my own money that I could scrape together, and borrowed what I could to carry on the work of the Order; and had the leaders of the Order in Kentucky more fully informed of its workings in Indiana and Illinois than they had ever before been, or would likely have ever been if it had not been for my work; facts they well knew to be true; but that the Order could now get some-one-else to take the Office of Grand Secretary. Thomas did not have much to say, but Kalfus urged upon me the defense that Bullitt had made for me, and that it would not be fair and just to Bullitt to now refuse the Office, especially when I knew the great need the Order now had for a Grand Secretary so familiar with the duties of the office as I was, and that Bullitt, Kalfus, and myself all knew that there was not another member of the Order in the State that was as thoroughly familiar with the United States Army Regulations, and as well qualified to fill the Office of Grand Secretary of the Order as I was. I told Kalfus that I appreciated fully his solicitations for my acceptance of the Office, but that I would not accept, nor hold an Office where I had to associate with any set of gentlemen who did not have implicit confidence in me. After further assurances from Kalfus and Thomas that all did have unbounded confidence in me I finally consented to accept the Office and perform the duties to the best of my ability. I then told them how Coffin got the information of his intended murder. I told them that Doctor Bowles had an infernally tough lot of citizens around him, that the most of them were members of the Order, and that Doctor Bowles was a man of great zeal in the advancement of the Order, and that every man around him looked to him for advice and direction; and that Doctor Bowles being very proud of his position in the Order, and a man very fond of his authority, had

unwittingly spoken of the Coffin matter to some-one around him who had taken advantage of the knowledge to convey or have conveyed to Coffin his danger if he should ever come into that part of the country again. Kalfus and Thomas both knowing Bowles, and his liking to talk, were both fully satisfied and convinced that it was through Bowles that Coffin had gotten his warning. The matter dropped there, and I never heard anything more of it. It would have been a difficult matter for even an army mule to kick me out of the Office of Grand Secretary of the Order for the State of Kentucky, but I seized the advantage of this opportunity to the more deeply implant their confidence in me. I made a full report of the meeting of the Grand Council at Indianapolis, of my trip to Hamilton, and of the meeting in Louisville and its results, and sent it to Colonel Fairleigh by my brother on Friday morning.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT "AUNT LUCY" BEING SICK MEANT; JOSEPH RISTINE, AUDITOR OF STATE OF INDIANA; DODD SAW ME IN FRONT OF CARRINGTON'S OFFICE; TRAIN LOAD OF NEGRO TROOPS TO BE THROWN FROM RAILROAD AND KILLED; MEETING OF KENTUCKY GRAND COUNCIL; BOCKING'S GREEK FIRE AND INFERNAL MACHINES; ACQUAINTANCE WITH BEN. M. ANDERSON.

Friday, June 17th, I resumed the duties of my Office of Grand Secretary, initiating such candidates as were presented and properly vouched for. The next day, by Grand Commander Bullitt's direction, I went to Shepherdsville, the County Seat of Bullitt County, and instituted a Temple of the Order that had been formed there and asked admission. I arrived there in the morning and looked up the man that I was told would get the members together for obligation and instruction. While he was

getting the members together I came across William J. Heady, a man who was raised in the same County I was, (Spencer County,) and was then living in Shepherdsville. He was a most bitter rebel, and knew that I had been in the Federal Army, and while I did not inform him for what purpose I was in Shepherdsville, he laid plans to have me beaten up or killed on my way to the train that night to go home; the depot being some distance from the central or business part of the town, and along streets that were uninhabited. This plan of his I did not know of at the time, but learned of shortly afterward. After instituting the Temple of the Order I started for the depot about 8 o'clock that night, and fortunately for me, I did not take the usual route to the depot, but started from the central part of the town in another direction, and after going a short distance turned and went diagonally across lots to the depot, thereby avoiding those men Heady had sent after me, and escaping them. I understood afterward that Heady was very angry at my having escaped his men. I seemed to have an intuitive instinctiveness of pending dangers wherever they might occur, that I suppose the members of the Order of Sons of Liberty afterward attributed to the adage that "the Devil always takes care of his own."

On Tuesday night, June 21st, I was sent by Bullitt to Indianapolis, to learn from Dodd if he knew anything about a dispatch that Bullit had received. The dispatch was in regard to a letter that had been sent to Dodd, Bowles, and Ristine, and was about "Aunt Lucy" being sick, and on Wednesday called on Dodd and he asked me if I knew what "Aunt Lucy" meant, and I told him I did; that it had reference to the Southern Confederacy, and he was satisfied. The letter was signed "Dick," warning them against Coffin. Dodd showed me the letter, and they supposed it was written by Dick Bright. It was afterward learned from Doctor Chambers that he directed Jesse Bright to write the letter and Jesse Bright had had "Dick" Bright write it. Dodd then asked me to meet

him at the Office of Joseph Ristine, who was Auditor of State for the State of Indiana. Dodd going there alone and I soon afterward going to Ristine's Office, where Dodd gave me an introduction to Ristine, and told him of the position I held in the Order of Sons of Liberty, and we talked to Ristine about the case of Coffin, and as "I did not know Coffin" Dodd took me to young Ristine, the Auditor's Son, and asked young Ristine to point Coffin out to me if he should pass the street by the Auditor's Office, not telling young Ristine for what purpose I was to be shown Coffin. I waited in the Auditor's Office until about sun-down when Coffin passed by and was pointed out to me by young Ristine. Afterward I went to report to General Carrington, whose Headquarters and Office was in the theatre building on Washington Street near the corner of Tennessee, with the entrance by the side of the entrance to the theatre. The theatre had a balcony in front where the band came out to play before the performance inside began, and on the street in front of the theatre was a large gas lamp with red, white, and blue glass, as an attraction, where I usually went to watch for General Carrington going up to his Office, when I would go around on the side street and climb over the machinery in the lot and go up to the General's Office in that way, *never* going up by the general entrance on Washington Street. This night I was standing hugging that lamp post as though it was the prettiest thing in town, and the band playing in the balcony was the first band I had ever seen, when Dodd came by going to his Office. He did not appear to see me, but when I called at his Office the next morning before returning to Louisville he explained to me that the place where I was the night before was immediately in front of General Carrington's Headquarters, but he did not think that if I was ever seen by anyone from Carrington's Office that they would ever suspect me as being the Grand Secretary of the Order of Sons of Liberty for the State of Kentucky. He said that I would make a mighty good spy on the Yankees, and that he

would like very much to have me try and learn all I could about their movements and intentions and report it to him. I told him that I was afraid to try it, as that was a kind of business that I knew nothing about, and I was afraid they would catch me at my first attempt; with which he was satisfied that I had better attend to the duties of my Office as Grand Secretary. I returned to Louisville Thursday night.

General Carrington on some occasions knowing when I would be in Indianapolis and that I always came from Louisville on the night train, would come to the Bates House very early in the morning, examine the Register and obtain from that the number of my room, and come direct to my room without making any inquiries or informing any-one as to whom he was going to visit, and some of my most important information was communicated to him in my room at the hotel.

On Friday morning, June 24th, it was reported to me by a member of the Order that the Government would, the first of the next week, send a train load of negro troops to Nashville over the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, which road a short distance below Louisville runs along the side of a very steep ridge known as Muldraugh's Hill, the road being cut into the side of this ridge or hill, where, if any accident or mishap should occur to the train it would be precipitated several hundred feet down into the valley below, and it was the intention of the members of this Order to be at that point at the time of the arrival of this train and so obstruct the track at the end of a curve in the road as to throw the train from the track and down this long and steep hill-side, thereby almost certainly killing every-one aboard the train. This fact I reported to Colonel Fairleigh within an hour after I had received the information. Four or five days afterward it was reported to me by the same man that the train had been sent out as at first stated, but instead of its carrying negro soldiers it had carried one or two flat cars well supplied with artillery, and that the negro troops

had been sent by steamboats by the way of the Ohio and Cumberland Rivers, and the parties sent to throw the train down the precipice having prepared the obstructions on the tracks and waiting to see the outcome of their hellishness saw the train slow down, remove the obstructions, and with the artillery shell the surrounding locality, they themselves making a lively escape. The party reporting to me strongly wondering why the shipment of the troops was changed, but was never able to understand why the Government had changed the plans, as he claimed to have authentic information that these troops were to have been sent by the railroad. I sympathized with him and expressed great regret that they had been thwarted in their plans.

Monday, June 27th, there being in Louisville a number of members of the Order from districts out in the State who wished to obtain all instructions possible for the encouragement of their members at home Grand Commander Bullitt called a special meeting of such members of the Grand Council as could be reached in Louisville for the purpose of giving these outside members instructions in the workings of the Grand Council. Those attending were Grand Commander Bullitt; myself, Grand Secretary; D. W. C. Whips, Grand Treasurer; William K. Thomas, Rev. T. J. Bosley of Shelby County, John J. Felix of Lawrenceburg, Judge C. Williams of Hancock County, Mr. Tirrell of Owen or Boone County, two gentlemen of Paris, Kentucky, and some others whose names I do not remember; some sixteen or seventeen members being present. Judge Williams and Mr. Bosley made speeches advocating the thorough organizing of as many members throughout the State as could be induced to join the Order, and getting them well armed and drilled for active service as soon as the Confederate forces under Buckner or Breckinridge should invade the State. Additional Delegates were also elected to attend a meeting of the Supreme Council of the Order to be held at Chicago in July. Grand Commander Bullitt by virtue of

his Office was a delegate at large to all meetings of the Supreme Council, and B. B. Piper of Springfield, Illinois, General Organizer for the Order, together with Boyd Winchester, who was afterward a member of the United States House of Representatives in Congress from the Louisville District, and D. W. C. Whips, were duly elected to represent the State of Kentucky in the Supreme Council for that meeting. There was no other business of importance transacted at that meeting.

Tuesday, June 28th, Doctor Bowles was in Louisville, and told me to invite a number of the members of the Order to visit the room of R. C. Bocking, in the Louisville Hotel, Sixth and Main Streets, and witness the exhibition and explanations to be made by Bocking of his infernal machines, Greek Fire, shells, hand grenades, etc. Doctor Kalfus, William K. Thomas, Boyd Winchester, Charlie Miller, and several others, soon after went to Bocking's room, were we found Bowles and Bocking. I will say, that we always informed ourselves of exact locations, number of the room, etc., that we could go directly to the place without making any inquiries or asking any directions which would be likely to create inquisitiveness by any-one. Bocking showed us his shells, both the conical and spherical, and explained them fully to us, he also showed us a clock arrangement by which a steamboat or any building could be set on fire hours after being left in the boat or building. (For illustrations and detailed descriptions of these infernal machines see pages twelve and thirteen of this History.) Bocking had some of the Greek Fire with him at the Louisville Hotel and showed us the ease and readiness with which it operated, by pouring a very small portion on some paper in the fire-place of his room, which ignited immediately upon being exposed to the air. This Greek Fire is composed of Bi-sulphate of Carbon and Phosphorus, but I do not know the proportions. It will burn under water as well as in the air and neither vinegar or molasses would put it out. Bocking explained to us how this Greek Fire could be

used outside of the shells. It could be kept in a glass vial, and when you wanted to destroy any object all you had to do was to throw the glass vial against the object with sufficient force to break the vial, by which the liquid would be scattered about, and would set fire to anything it touched. Bocking said it might be made so as to ignite instantly as it struck the object to be destroyed, or it might be made so as to not ignite for some minutes after striking the object, thereby giving the party using it a chance to leave the place before ignition occurred, and escape detection. In use with the clock arrangement it could of course be set to ignite at any time within ten hours after being placed where the destruction of the property was intended. Bocking also showed us the muster roll of a battery which he had been authorized by the Government to raise, which roll contained nothing but a list of rebel prisoners confined in one of the United States military prisons, and he said that every one of those enlisted in his battery were enlisted with the distinct understanding that at the first opportunity they were to desert to the rebels, and take their guns with them if they could do so, and that one section of an Indiana battery had so deserted and taken with them two of the guns. These men were released from the Government prisons on taking the oath of allegiance to the United States Government, and afterward enlisted into the Indiana battery. Bocking had at one time been Major in Metcalf's Cavalry.

Doctor Bowles, after the meeting with Bocking at the Louisville Hotel, took up a subscription from among leading members of the Order to the amount of two hundred ($200.00) dollars, and Bocking was invited to call at Doctor Kalfus' Office on Jefferson Street that night at 8 o'clock, when that $200.00 was presented (given,) to him to assist him in making up some of his infernal machines, shells, etc., and for other purposes.

Doctor Bowles asked me to see Mr. B. C. Kent of New Albany, a member of the Order, and have Mr. Kent to try and make arrangements with Peters & Co. of Cin-

cinnati for the supplying of as many arms as possible for the Order of Sons of Liberty; and also to make arrangements with Mr. Kent for Bowles to communicate, through him, with Doctor Gorden of New Albany, that he might have arms shipped to Gorden, to be wagoned out into the country. Mr. Kern of Louisville, a member of the Order, also told me that Judge Williams of Kentucky, had given $100.00, and other members $200.00 to be used in organizing and arming members of the Order.

In conversation with Kalfus one day, about this time, he inquired of me as to who a certain man that he had sometimes seen with me, was, describing Mr. Prentice, my assistant and messenger. I told him that I did not know very much about the man except that he boarded at the house where I boarded, and that I had sat in a Masonic Lodge with him, when Kalfus told me that I should be very careful who I associated with, and so far as knowing the man was a Mason that I should remember that our Order of Sons of Liberty should *always* be held above that of Masonry, and that Masonry should be a secondary consideration. Kalfus nor I had either ever tested the other as to being a Mason, though Kalfus had told me once that he was a Mason, but every Mason will know that that alone is not accepted as a test of membership in the Order; so I did not accept that advice from him as in any way entitling him to any of the protection of Masonry.

About the first of July I received an introduction to Benjamin M. Anderson, who had been a prominent young lawyer in Kentucky, but who, at the breaking out of the rebellion in the South, had associated himself with the disloyal element and gone into the Southern Confederacy where he soon arose to the Colonelcy of the Third Kentucky Confederate Infantry. In the early spring of 1864 his wife or one of his children, who had remained in Kentucky, had been taken seriously sick, and word had been sent to him by a messenger through the lines requesting him if possible to come home, whereupon he applied for,

and received an indefinite leave of absence from his command, which the Confederate Authorities were freely granting at that time for the purpose of procuring all the reliable information possible as to the exact situation in the North, and the possibility of assistance from their sympathizers there; as they were reliably informed of the existence of secret organizations in the North in sympathy with the Southern Confederacy. Colonel Anderson, in order to enable him to remain unmolested with his family during their sickness, had to take the oath of allegiance to the United States Government. After his family had recovered from sickness Anderson became restless under the restraint put upon him by the Government and wished to return to his command in the Confederacy, which he could only do by desertion, banishment from the United States by the Military Authorities, or voluntarily leaving the United States and taking the oath of allegiance to some foreign Government, thereby becoming a citizen of that Government and absolving his allegiance to the Government of the United States. He very properly declined to take the risk of desertion, as, if he should be caught, or if he should succeed in reaching his command in the Confederacy and at any future time be captured and recognized he would certainly meet the usual fate of deserters, shot to death, with all the ignominy attached to the deserter. Anderson decided to, and applied for and obtained permission to extend the limits of his environment to include the borders of the State of Kentucky, whereupon he had come to Louisville, where his playmate in childhood and at school, his fellow companion in college, his closest associate and chum in the study of law, and his dearest friend, Colonel Thomas B. Fairleigh, was Post Commander of the Federal Troops in Louisville, where Anderson hoped to in some way overcome the restraint placed upon him, and probably be enabled to return to his command in the Confederacy in safety. Soon after his arrival in Louisville he made the acquaintance of some of the prominent members of the Order of Sons of

Liberty by whom he was brought to my Office for initiation and instructions in the Order. Doctor Kalfus and I both being there, and the man that came with Anderson being acquainted with Kalfus he (Kalfus,) gave Anderson the Neophyte and First Temple Degrees of the Order, and Anderson called a few days afterward when I gave him the Second and Third Temple Degrees. Anderson after that was a frequent caller at my office, and at two or three of his calls he told me of his great desire to return to the Confederacy and take up the command of his regiment, and his, so far, having been unable to do so, but not mentioning to me at any time that he had induced Colonel Fairleigh to make application to Major General Stephen G. Burbridge, Commander of the Department of Kentucky, for the banishment of Colonel Anderson from the Government of the United States; nor did he even tell me that he knew Colonel Fairleigh at-all.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRIVATE CONFERENCE WITH ANDERSON; ANDERSON IN CANADA; BUILDINGS BURNED BY GREEK FIRE; SENT BY BULLITT TO BOWLING GREEN, KY.; REBEL OFFICERS AND GUERRILLAS INITIATED; LEADER OF NEW YORK RIOTS, 1863; ATTEMPT TO SEND $5,000.00 IN GOLD TO GENERAL JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE.

About the 15th of July Anderson called at my Office and asked for a private conference with me. We went into my private office where he told me of his having, through Colonel Fairleigh, made application to General Burbridge for banishment from the United States Government, and that he should have heard from said application either favorably or unfavorably, some three or four days ago, but that he had been to Colonel Fairleigh's Office the day before and there had been no reply come, and that he was getting anxious about it; and that he was

going direct from my Office to Colonel Fairleigh's, and if Fairleigh had received an order for his banishment into the Confederacy, or into Canada, that would exonerate him from his oath of allegiance to the United States Government and he would go at once into the Confederacy and take up the command of his regiment; and if the order for his banishment had not come he would not wait any longer, but would go to Canada, and through Canada to Mexico, where he would take the oath of allegiance to the then Maxamillian Government in Mexico, which would exonerate him from his allegiance to the United States Government, when he would go immediately into the Confederacy and take up the command of his regiment. Under any consideration he was tired of living under the restraint of the United States Government, and would assume the hazard of the latter resort rather than to live longer under this Government. He bid me good-by and left me, going in the direction of Colonel Fairleigh's Office. I realized that this was a time that admitted of NO DELAY whatever, and Anderson was not out of my Office one minute until I was on the street in search of my brother or Prentice. I caught sight of my brother a block or so away, and as he saw me start toward him hurriedly he turned the first street corner, so as for our meeting to not be observed, and waited for me. As I passed by him slowly I told him in an undertone of voice to "go to Fairleigh's as quickly as possible and tell him that if Ben Anderson's papers have come for God's sake to not give them to him until he hears from me." With that short and positive message I passed on, and my brother hurried to Fairleigh's Office as quickly as possible, where he saw Anderson just being seated in a chair by the side of Colonel Fairleigh. Anderson did not know my brother, though my brother knew Anderson by sight. As my brother entered the Office Colonel Fairleigh saw by his hurried actions that he had some "short order" message for him from me, as Fairleigh knew that my brother never came to his (Fairleigh's,) Office except

when sent there by me, which was sometimes three or four times a day when I would be in Louisville: so Fairleigh motioned to him to go into a small room adjoining his Office, where Colonel Fairleigh in a minute or two excused himself from Anderson for a few minutes, and went in to where my brother was, when my brother told him the message that I had sent, and that it would be followed by a written report in detail as soon as I could get the chance and time to make it. I made a full and detailed report of all that Colonel Anderson had told me that morning that he would do in case he did not receive the order for his banishment that morning, and sent it to Colonel Fairleigh at his Office that evening. That morning was the last time I ever saw Colonel Ben. M. Anderson in Louisville.

In the first part of July I was sent to Bardstown, Kentucky, where I organized a Temple of the Order with Mike Donahoe, William Cisco, and others, who took up the work of organizing the Order in that town; and also to a little town in Oldham County where I organized a Temple; and in the latter part of July I was sent by Grand Commander Bullitt along the line of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad as far as Bowling Green, to learn the strength of the United States Troops stationed along that road and the number of pieces of Artillery at each Station where there was troops, which I successfully did and reported to him, and to Colonel Fairleigh.

During the three months that I was reporting to Colonel Fairleigh I was never in his Headquarters Office but one time, and that time I *knew* that he was not in Louisville, and not a man connected with his Office knew who I was the time I was there: which will be fully explained under the heading of Bullitt's arrest. Whenever I had anything that I wished to talk with Colonel Fairleigh personally about I always went to his room on the sixth floor of the Louisville Hotel, Sixth and Main Streets, of a morning before he would be up, which was not exceeding four or five times, all reports being made to him written or verbally

through my brother or Mr. Prentice. Three or four days after my last conversation with Colonel Anderson I went to Colonel Fairleigh's room in the Hotel to see if he could inform me what Confederate troops were in Kentucky at that time, either under command, or disbanded and awaiting orders, but he told me that he knew little or nothing about them except such information as was given to him by me, and I already knew from reports coming to me through members of the organization of the Sons of Liberty of two or three commands of rebel troops then in Kentucky awaiting the action of our Order. While there Colonel Fairleigh told me of his intimacy with Colonel Anderson from childhood up, and that he *knew* Anderson to be too high principled and honorable a man to do what I claimed in my report that he would do, and that he, Fairleigh, was unwilling to give full credence to the statements made in my report; he also told me that the banishment papers of Anderson had just come a few minutes before he received my request to hold them, and that he was raising his hand to the pigeonhole in his desk for the papers for Anderson when he saw my brother coming up the stairs, and withheld the taking of the banishment order from his desk until he learned what hurried report I had sent to him, and after receiving my short but pointed message he did *not* give Anderson the order of banishment, nor inform him that it had been received. I asked him if he had seen Anderson since that day, and he said that he had not, though Anderson had been calling at his Office daily for the week or ten days before.

About two weeks after I had had the conversation with Anderson and he had bid me good-by Matthews, the grain commission merchant on Third Street, came into my office about 9 o'clock in the morning and took a letter from his pocket and handed it to me; the letter had been folded in the center at one end and the envelope cut half-way across the end to the fold, and the letter inside folded over, so as to be removed from the envelope through the slit of one-half the end of the envelope; Matthews re-

LAMBDIN P. MILLIGAN,

MAJOR GENERAL, SONS OF LIBERTY, STATE OF INDIANA.

A Treasonable Organization In The North,

During the Civil War of 1861-65.

marking that, "that was the way the d-m—d Yankee thieves treated his mail." I read the letter. It was from Colonel Ben. M. Anderson, from Winchester, Canada; Anderson asking Matthews for $20.00, as he was short of funds, and also that he be sent copies of the Ritual and By-Laws of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and the secret work in cipher. While the letter was not signed both Matthews and myself recognized the handwriting as that of Anderson. I knew in an instant as soon as Matthews showed me the letter that it was Colonel Fairleigh who had opened the letter, and that he now had absolute confirmation of the correctness of the report that I had made to him of Anderson's intentions. A week or so afterward I had occasion to again call at Colonel Fairleigh's room in the Louisville Hotel, and after talking together for a while I asked him if he had heard from Colonel Anderson since I had seen him last. Although I *knew* he heard me he did not reply; a few minutes afterward I again asked him the same question, and with the same result; and still a few minutes later I for the third time asked him the same question, and got no reply from him. I then told him that Matthews had shown me a letter that he had received from Anderson in Canada, and that the letter had been opened and read before being delivered to Matthews, but Colonel Fairleigh had no interest in making any inquiries about it, so I said nothing more about it, being fully convinced that he knew as much about it as I did, and that he did not wish to admit that he knew he had been deceived by Anderson.

During the month of July there was a disastrous fire at the North-West Corner of Main and Eighth Streets in Louisville burning a large quantity of Government Supplies stored in two buildings just West of the corner, and one of the largest Furniture Stores in the city at the corner of Main and Eighth Streets. The next morning Matthews, the 3rd Street Commission Merchant, came to my office to learn if I knew anything of the origin of the fire, and when I told him that I did not, he explained

to me that he had set up the night before watching for the fire; and that it was started by a member of the Order of Sons of Liberty who had obtained entrance to the Government Store building by going through a near-by store occupied by a member of the Order, and across roofs to the building occupied by the Government; prying up the hatchway and entering the Government Store and placing the Greek Fire, then leaving the building by the same way in which he entered it. Matthews was very enthusiastic over the success that had been made in the destruction of Government Stores.

About this time there were several Confederate Officers initiated at Louisville into the Order of Sons of Liberty; the notorious Captain Hines, of the more notorious marauder and freebooter John Morgan's band, who had escaped from the Ohio penitentiary with John Morgan, and was harbored in Louisville for several weeks, visiting my office frequently, always at night; Captain Van Morgan, Captain of a guerrilla band; Jim McCrocklin and Dick Pratt; all noted guerillas, marauders and murderers; though their promiscuous murdering of Union men in Kentucky was finally put a stop to by General Burbridge by his ordering, that of the prisoners that he had captured from any of these guerrilla bands two be selected by lot and shot to death for every Union man murdered by any of these bands of guerrillas.

Bullitt had told me that he had two or three times attempted through friends to obtain a conference with the rebel Colonels George Jesse and Leonidas A. Sypert, but had not succeeded in making an appointment to that end.

At this time the former law partner of William L. Yancy, heretofore mentioned as Clerk and Disburing Officer of the United States Sanitary Commission in Louisville, frequently came to my office at his noon hour to learn of me any news and progress of the Order. He gave me considerable of the history of the great draft riots in New York City, July 13th, 14th and 15th, 1863, which were ended by the return of the State Militia from Gettysburg,

after over 400 persons had been killed, and $2,000,000.00 worth of property destroyed, and told me that he was himself the leader of the posse of rioters that tried to force themselves into the Headquarters and Office of the Commanding General of the United States Troops in New York City, for the purpose of capturing the General and forcing him under a threat of the penalty of death, to call off the troops that were engaged in suppressing the riot, but that just as he reached the door of the Commanding General's Office he was himself made a prisoner, and that that was the beginning of the end of the riot. In speaking of the Order of Sons of Liberty he several times told me that he *knew* I was sincere and honest in my loyality to the Order of Sons of Liberty, because, as he said, I could look him, and any members of the Order square in the eyes and talk to him or them, and that a good many of the prominent men of the Order had noticed my ability to look them in the eyes and talk to them, and had remarked of the fact to him. While I knew of my ability to do so I had not to the time of his telling me so taken any notice of the fact, but had always noticed another fact; That not a one of the most prominent Officers and leaders or members of that damnable Order of traitorous conspirators had ever been able to look me in the eyes and talk to me, but that their eyes were always wandering aimlessly about, and I know of no reason why I should have been able to look them so steadily in their eyes except an innate consciousness of my being in the performance of a just and honorable duty to my Government.

At one of these noon hour conferences this man asked for a confidential talk with me, in which he told me in the most strict confidence, not at my solicitation but of his own free will, that there had that morning been turned over to him as Disbursing Officer of the United States Sanitary Commission, twenty thousand ($20,000.00) dollars in gold, to be disbursed by him as the Officers of the Sanitary Commission should direct, and that he had

arrangements through friends to, within a few days, send to Confederate General John C. Breckenridge, then in Eastern Kentucky or just across the border in West Virginia, five thousand ($5,000.00) dollars of that gold. He said he was in constant correspondence with General Breckenridge through a man who went at will from Louisville into Eastern Kentucky with correspondence written on tissue (the finest of) paper and concealed in the heel of his boot, and through this man he would convey this $5.000.00 to General Breckenridge, the man knowing his route so thoroughly that he would have but very little, or no risk of capture and loss of the gold before reaching Breckenridge; and that he would account for the disbursement of the $5,000.00 of gold on his books in some manner that would prevent knowledge of the actual use to which it had been applied. Immediately after his leaving my office I made a written report of the facts and sent to Colonel Fairleigh through my messenger, Mr. Prentice. The next morning before 9 o'clock this Disbursing Officer came into my office direct from the Office of the United States Sanitary Commission, and handed to me a note to himself from the Rev. Doctor Henry W. Bellows, President (and Chief,) of the United States Sanitary Commission, informing him that his services were hereby dispensed with in that Office, and that he turn over the keys of his desk, and all books, papers, and money, to a designated Officer, which note he had found on his desk awaiting him when he arrived at the office, and as the Officer designated was already there to take possession there was no other alternative than to comply with the order, which he had done, and had come direct from that office to me. He expressed the most profound wonder as to what should have been the cause of the very sudden action of Doctor Bellows in the matter, as, but the day before Doctor Bellows had shown such confidence in him; that he could not imagine what had come up to cause so sudden a change. He was perfectly satisfied that it was not anything regarding the

performance of his duties, as he had taken the greatest care to attend strictly to his business, and that his intention in regard to the $5,000.00 he had not mentioned to a living person but me, so he *knew* it *was not* on that account, and that he was absolutely unable to solve the matter in any way. Of course all I could do in the matter was to express condolence with him for his bereavement in the loss of his employment.

CHAPTER IX.

MEETING OF SUPREME COUNCIL IN CHICAGO JULY 21ST; PROGRAMME DECIDED UPON; AT DODD'S REQUEST CALLED ON ATHON; ATHON'S VIEWS; NOTIFIED TO ATTEND CONFERENCE AT MORTON'S PRIVATE OFFICE IN STATE HOUSE THAT NIGHT; REPORTED CONFERENCE WITH DODD; BULLITT'S ARREST JULY 30TH; INTENDED RELEASE.

A meeting of the Supreme Council of the Order, or what practically constituted the Supreme Council at that time, consisting of the Grand Commanders and Major Generals of the Order for the States of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky and Missouri, was called by Vallandigham to be held at Chicago on July 1st, when it was expected to prepare for a general uprising of the Order between August 3rd and August 17th, the exact date to be decided by Supreme Commander Clement L. Vallandigham; but owing to the postponement of the meeting of the Democratic National Convention, which was to have been held prior to that date, the meeting of the Supreme Council of the Order was postponed until July 21st. Bullitt left Louisville on Tuesday night, July 19th, for Chicago to attend this meeting of the Supreme Council of the Order, not taking any of his Generals with him, but expecting to return to Louisville within four or five days at the latest. As Bullitt had not returned up to Thurs-

day night, July 28th, and I having nothing particularly requiring my presence in Louisville until Bullitt returned, I concluded to go to Indianapolis on Thursday night and see what I could learn from Dodd, feeling sure that Dodd had returned home before that time. I arrived in Indianapolis Friday morning, July 29th, and went to Dodd's office about 8 o'clock, where I met Dodd at the foot of the stairs, looking dusty and tired. He told me that he had just arrived from New York, and had not yet been to his home. We went up into his office and he inquired of me if Bullitt had returned home, and I told him that Bullitt had not returned was the reason that I had come to Indianapolis to see if I could learn anything of his whereabouts. Dodd told me that there had been a meeting of the Supreme Council, or Committee of Sixteen, composed of the Grand Commanders and Major Generals of the Order, as before mentioned, with Supreme Commander Clement L. Vallandigham Presiding, and that the programme had all been decided, to order an uprising of the members of the Order of Sons of Liberty to take place at an early date, and that arrangements had been made for the getting the members together, but he did not give me any of the details for the carrying out of the details agreed upon at the meeting in Chicago. He told me to go home as early as I could and engage twenty or thirty good, reliable men with good, strong horses, and have them ready, so that as soon as Bullitt arrived in Louisville he could proceed as rapidly as possible in carrying out the details arranged for Kentucky, and these men were to be ready to be sent out at once to notify the members of the Order that could not be reached by railroad, as to when and where they were to assemble, and as to their movements. Dodd had first gone to Niagara Falls in Canada where he had held a conference with Jacob Thompson, J. J. Holcomb, and C. C. Clay at the Clifton House, near the Falls; these men being known as the "Peace Commissioners" appointed by Jeff. Davis to arrange terms with the Order of Sons of Liberty; and he

had gone from there to the meeting of the Supreme Council or Committee of Sixteen in Chicago, and after that meeting he had returned to New York and from there to Indianapolis.

Dodd wanted me to, before leaving Indianapolis, call upon Doctor James S. Athon, Secretary of State for the State of Indiana, and learn of him (Doctor Athon,) his views as to the general uprising at this time, and report to him (Dodd,) before leaving for home. I called upon Doctor Athon about 2 or 3 o'clock that evening, when I learned from him that Dodd had called and talked with him that morning in regard to the matter, and that he (Athon,) had counseled caution and delay until they were more thoroughly organized, and until they could see what could be done at the polls at the election in November. Dodd did not tell Doctor Athon that arrangements had already been decided upon as to the time and details of the general uprising of the order when he had learned from Athon that he was opposed to hasty action at this time, and for the purpose of drawing Athon out more fully I told him that such action had been decided upon at Chicago; to not wait for the results of the election, but to proceed as rapidly as possible for action. Athon said they should use their military power at the polls if the Government attempted to control the election by bayonet; that then would be the time when it would be proper to use their military power against the Government, but that the time had not yet come. He said that matters would not be changed after the election; that an outbreak would come after the election to resist the Government, both as to its political and military policy; that usurpations of the Government, such as the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus,* freeing of the negroes, and the general tyrannical acts of the Government, were deemed sufficient to warrant military operations against the Government. (The same opinions for grounds of action had been expressed to me before by both Judge Bullitt and Mike Bright, except that they did not counsel delay, but

immediate action.) They all showed the same general treasonable tenor of the Order.

General Carrington having seen me on the street during the day sent word to me by Mr. Prentice for me to remain in Indianapolis that night, and to hold myself in readiness at the Bates House to be called to a conference with Governor Morton and himself and others sometime during the night, of which I would be notified by Mr. Prentice. After getting my supper I went to Dodd's house and reported to him the results of my call on Doctor Athon, which, from his conversation with Athon in the morning he said was about what he expected, though it was more full than Dodd had obtained from Athon in the morning. William M. Harrison, Dodd's Grand Secretary for the Order in Indiana, was at Dodd's house, and as Dodd had an appointment to meet Daniel W. Voorhees, Member of Congress from the State of Indiana and also a member of the Order of Sons of Liberty, the three of us walked down town together. In going down town we discussed matters pertaining to the Order. Harrison in talking of the uprising of the Order of Sons of Liberty used the remark that they were rather dilatory in the matter, but he supposed the reason was that they, as yet, had not sufficient arms, as they thought, for their purposes. Dodd replied, "if they do not rise very soon I will leave the country, for I'll be d-m- d if I will live under such a Government as the present Administration." In the course of conversation Harrison remarked to Dodd that he (Harrison,) did not consider it advisable to tell Mr. Vorhees too much of the secrets of the Order, somewhat cautioning Dodd against being very free with the information he imparted to Voorhees, when Dodd stopped short, and facing the two of us said very emphatically, "*I tell nobody as much as I tell you and Stidger.*" Arriving down town I left them, Dodd requesting that I should go home as soon as possible and get my men ready for Bullitt when he came home.

About 11 o'clock that night Mr. Prentice called for me

to go Governor Morton's private Office in the State House, and as I had never been in the State House he and I went there together. On entering the Governor's Office I was surprised to find there Governor Oliver P. Morton, Governor Thomas E. Bramlette of Kentucky, Major General Stephen G. Burbridge of Kentucky, General Henry B. Carrington, and Colonel Thomas B. Fairleigh. Governor Bramlette and General Burbridge, although both of my State, I had never met before. As they all knew through me that there was to have been a meeting of the Supreme Council (or Committee of Sixteen,) held in Chicago on the 21st of the month, and Governor Morton, General Carrington, and Colonel Fairleigh, if not also Governor Bramlette and General Burbridge, knew that if the proceedings of that meeting could be obtained by any-one that I would have them, and having learned that I had gone to Indianapolis, and no-one knew when I would be back to Louisville,—Bramlette, Burbridge, and Fairleigh had come to Indianapolis to see me; or if I had gone from there, to learn of General Carrington what information I had given him in regard to the meeting in Chicago. I gave to them the information that I had obtained from Dodd, and from my conversation with Doctor Athon. Though I could not give them the exact date, or details, of just when and how the outbreak of this hellish conspiracy was to be conducted, I could give them the positive assurance that all the details had been arranged for an early date. After I had given them such information as I had obtained, Governor Morton expressed himself as unable to understand how any men could be so absolutely irrational as to believe that they could carry out such a wild proceeding, but when I explained to them that the five to six thousand rebel prisoners that were then confined in Camp Morton, just outside of the city of Indianapolis, every one of whom were fully informed of the existence of a secret Order on the outside at work in their behalf, and a great many of those prisoners actually members of the Order, and the very small number of

Federal Soldiers there. only about five or six hundred, to guard these prisoners. and with the assistance of two or three times as many drilled and armed members of the Order of Sons of Liberty as there were Federal Troops, that, with the Sons of Liberty on the outside with what assistance the rebel prisoners on the inside could give them, in setting fire to the barracks and fences on the inside while the Troops were engaged with the conspirators, would be able in a very short time to overpower the Federal Troops, release the prisoners, and march to the United States and State Arsenals and take possession of them, and fully arm and equip the released prisoners, and the Sons of Liberty who should be insufficiently armed, when they would be able to do pretty much as they pleased. The Governor recognized the fact that with the few Federal Troops then at Camp Morton it might not be so difficult a task for these arch conspirators to accomplish their hellish purposes as he had considered it to be, and he set forth at once to circumvent their designs. This conference ended about 2 o'clock Saturday morning.

As I had been unable to comply with Dodd's request to "go home as soon as possible" by going home on Friday night, I started for Louisville about 8 o'clock on Saturday morning, July 30th. There were two Hotels across the street directly opposite the central part of the depot in Indianapolis, and in crossing the street to go into the depot I saw Grand Commander Bullitt come out of one of these hotels and also cross the street and go into the depot, carrying a fair sized old fashioned leather sachel or valise, which he carried as though it was very heavy, but it did not seem to be stuffed out as though it was filled with clothing, but sagged considerably at the bottom. Bullitt looked dusty and tired. We barely spoke to eachother in the depot and both went into the same coach, Bullitt taking a seat immediately behind the one occupied by me, each having an entire seat. After the train started and had gotten well under way. and the passengers settled down to reading the papers, or otherwise occupied among

themselves, Bullitt leaned forward in his seat and speaking in a low voice told me that he would go forward into the smoking car, and that for me in two or three minutes to also come into the smoking car, as he wished to have a talk with me. I noticed that he took his heavy sachel with him every move he made, and seemed to guard it carefully. He remarked to me that the sachel was G-d d-m—d heavy, but did not say what it contained, I went into the smoking car and found Bullitt occupying one-half of a seat, reserving the other half for me, which I occupied beside him. Bullitt told me that he had just come into Indianapolis on the Bellefontaine train; and that he had been registering wherever he stopped as Charles Smith. He told me that the programme for the uprising was all arranged, and gave me about the same information that Dodd had given me, except, that instead of my procuring runners and horses, that as soon as we arrived at Louisville he would get a horse and buggy and have me ride with him out to his home, some two miles up the Ohio River, as he did not wish to be seen going through the city for fear he might be arrested. I was then to return with the horse and buggy to Louisville, and notify A. O. Brannan and Doctor Bayliss to come to his house that evening, that he might give them orders as to what duties they were to perform, and to also notify Doctor Kalfus and William K. Thomas to come to his house on Sunday morning to receive orders as to the duties they were to carry out; and he expressed himself that if he was then arrested, after seeing these four men, the uprising of the Order could be carried out and he be released at the time of the general uprising; thus it will be seen that it was not the intention of either of the Grand Commanders, Dodd or Bullitt, that any of their Major General's should know any more of the general plans than the part of the general plan that each one was to carry out individually. Bullitt and I talked together only a few minutes until we separated, and did not get together again while on the train, as, for prudential reasons, we consid-

ered it better to not be together again on this occasion.

Right here was where the greatest perplexity that has ever come to me in my life of sixty-seven years came to me. I had learned from both Dodd and Bullitt that the meeting in Chicago had been held, and that the detailed plans and time for the general uprising of the Order of Sons of Liberty had been decided upon; that the information of those details would not be imparted in whole to any one person outside of the Grand Commanders of the Order; and that my *only* chance of obtaining those details, or any part of them, was, that Bullitt *must* be arrested before his being enabled to impart any part of those details to either Brannan, Bayliss, Kalfus, or Thomas; that the only man in Louisville that I could apply to for the arrest of Bullitt was Colonel Thomas B. Fairleigh, and I *knew* that he was in Indianapolis. I did not know another Officer in Louisville, and not another Officer in Louisville knew me; and even though I should take the chances of calling on any Officer there I could not show my identity, as I had never made a single written report to Colonel Fairleigh in my own name of F. G. Stidger, but had signed all reports as J. J. Eustis. I worked my brain most vigorously the entire time going to Louisville trying to form some way for having Bullitt arrested, for I MUST have it done at almost any hazard. On the arrival of the train at Jeffersonville, opposite Louisville, about 2 o'clock P. M., there being no bridge across the Ohio River at Louisville all passengers had to leave the train and cross the river on a ferryboat. As it was known at just what time the passengers from Indianapolis would arrive at Louisville, when we left the train at Jeffersonville Bullitt told me that we would not go across the river with the other passengers from the train, but that he was acquainted with a liveryman in Jeffersonville and would get a horse and buggy of him, and that we could go over on the next ferryboat in about one-half hour, and that we would then not go up into town at-all, but would drive directly up along the river bank from the ferryboat, and that then no-

one would likely notice his return home. On the landing of the ferryboat at its wharf at Louisville I saw Captain Hewitt on his horse at the landing, whom I knew well by sight, he having been in command of Hewitt's Battery—one of the Batteries in our Division—during the entire time of my service in the army, though I did not know that he had been assigned to detached duty in Louisville, and he had never known me at-all in the army; but as soon as the gangway had been laid down from the ferry-boat, before Bullitt could start to drive off the boat Captain Hewitt rode aboard the boat, and knowing Bullitt well, rode close to the buggy on the side where Bullitt was sitting, leaned over close to Bullitt, and speaking in a low tone of voice to him, told Bullitt that he had an order for his arrest; the first word Bullitt spoke being to ask Hewitt if "the order included the arrest of the young man in the buggy with him," Hewitt replying that it did not, and that he did not know the young man. Hewitt remarked to Bullitt that he wished the arrest to be quiet, and did not want any-one to know that Bullitt was under arrest. Hewitt then rode around to the side of the buggy where I was sitting and asked me to please get out of the buggy and ride his horse up town, that he might ride with Bullitt in the buggy, and they being known as old acquaintences and friends there would be no notice taken of their riding in the buggy together. This I was very glad to do, knowing that now the object over which I had been worrying for six long hours had been accomplished, and that I would now *have* to be sent to Dodd to obtain all the details that were to have been imparted to the four, Brannan, Bayliss, Kalfus, and Thomas, each one only his own part, but that I would now get the entire instructions for the four of them, as there was not another member of the Order in Louisville that Dodd was personally acquainted with, or would have sufficient confidence in, to give the details of the work to be done by the Order in Kentucky, and I knew that under the circumstances of Bullitt's arrest that Dodd would give me the details. Upon our arrival at the build-

ing in which Colonel Fairleigh's Headquarters were lo-
cated Captain Hewitt and Bullitt got out of the buggy,
Bullitt carrying his heavy sachel, and I dismounting fron
Hewitt's horse and turning him over to an Orderly, we
all three went up stairs to Colonel Fairleigh's Office.
Captain Hewitt reported to the Officer in Command that
he had executed his order, and the presence of the pris-
oner. I, not knowing a person in the Office, took a seat
on a chair near the door on entering the office, and the
Officer in Command, sitting at his desk with his back to
that door, had taken no notice of me. Bullitt asked per-
mission of the Officer to write and send a note to his wife
informing her of his arrest, which the Officer at first re-
fused to permit, as he said he did not want it to be known
that Bullitt had been arrested; but Bullitt plead with him
until he hesitatingly consented, and had Bullitt sit down
to his desk to write the note, which, when completed
Bullitt put into an envelope and started to seal it, when
the Officer told Bullitt that he wished to read the con-
tents before it was sealed, and after reading the note he
tore it up and threw it in the waste basked, refusing to
allow any note to be sent. Turning to Captain Hewitt
the Officer told him to take Bullitt to the Louisville Hotel,
as he did not wish to send him to prison until Colonel
Fairleigh returned; to take two guards with him, and pro-
cure a room at the Louisville Hotel for Bullitt, place a
guard in the room with Bullitt, and order meals to be sent
to the room for Bullitt. Bullitt's sachel was ordered
taken into a room at the Post Commander's Headquar-
ters, and Bullitt was not allowed to take it to the Hotel
with him. As I knew it was not the intention of the Of-
ficer in Command to let Bullitt's arrest become known if
he could prevent it, and that none of those in the room
knew who I was, fearing that the Officer might make in-
quiries of me after Bullitt had gone as to what I wished
of him I arose and left the room, went down stairs, and
direct to my office, where I reported to Kalfus and Thomas
of my trip to Indianapolis, my conference with Dodd and

Bullitt, and what I was to do about sending Brannan, Bayliss, Kalfus, and Thomas to Bullitt's home, and of Bullitt's arrest and confinement under guard in a room at the Louisville Hotel. Some of the prominent members of the Order were at once called into conference, and after fully discussing the circumstances and situation it was decided that a posse of the members of the Order should be called to meet, armed, that night at 11 o'clock at my office, and that they should proceed quietly to the Louisville Hotel, go to Bullitt's room, overpower the guard, and set Bullitt free, and if necessary inaugurate an incipient uprising of the Order, there being but very few United States Troops in Louisville at the time, as there was no regular camp of prisoners there. When our posse arrived that night at the corner of Sixth and Main Streets, in front of the Louisville Hotel, Main Street was found to be better lighted than usual, and on looking up the street there was a section of artillery at Fourth and Main Streets planted in the street, fully manned, and trained on the Louisville Hotel; on looking down the street there was another section of artillery at Eighth and Main Streets planted in the street, fully manned, and trained on the Louisville Hotel. After carefully reviewing the situation it was decided that it would be useless to undertake to release Bullitt at that time, and the posse gracefully retired. On Sunday there was no action taken on matters.

CHAPTER X.

WAS SENT TO DODD FOR DETAILS AUGUST 1ST; DODD GAVE ME MINUTE DETAILS AUGUST 2ND; REPORTED DETAILS TO GENERAL CARRINGTON AND GOVERNOR MORTON THAT NIGHT; REPORTED DETAILS TO KALFUS, THOMAS, AND COLONEL FAIRLEIGH AUGUST 3RD; WHO WAS THE WORKING HEAD OF THIS CONSPIRACY; LAST VISIT TO BOWLES; WOULD HAVE PUT 75,000 ARMED AND DRILLED MEN INTO CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Monday, August 1st, there were several cenferences

held by leading members of the Order in Louisville at my office without any definite decision as to what was the best course to pursue, as the release of Bullitt seemed to be impracticable, and that it was impossible to proceed without some definite knowledge as to what the plans were that had been decided upon at the meeting in Chicago. I took no part in these conferences except to answer such questions, and give such information as was asked of me, as I did not want to seem anxious to make the trip to Dodd myself, and I carefully avoided giving them any more information than just what was necessary to excite their anxiety to obtain the details in full of the uprising as planned at the Chicago meeting. Kalfus said that he knew a Doctor Helm in Louisville that was personally acquainted with Dodd, and who might be able to get the desired information from him. He did not say whether Helm was a member of the Order or not, but he called upon Helm during the day to learn if he would go to Indianapolis and see Dodd. Helm stated to Kalfus that his business was such that he could not possibly go to Indianapolis. It was getting well along toward night with no progress having been made, when it seemed to occur to both Kalfus and Thomas that the day had been lost to no purpose whatever, and they wondered why they had not thought of it early in the day that I was most likely the only one that could obtain from Dodd the information they were so eagerly seeking, and they both asked me if I would not go to Indianapolis that night and get the detailed plans from Dodd, and return with the information to Louisville as soon as possible. I expressed myself as being quite worn out from having traveled so much in the past two weeks, both day and night, but that I was most certainly willing to accommodate them in every way that I possibly could, especially under the circumstances of our Grand Commander being under arrest, and I went to Indianapolis that night.

Tuesday morning, August 2nd, at 8-30 o'clock I found Grand Commander Dodd in his Office, and told him of

having met Bullitt in Indianapolis on Saturday morning, of Bullitt's directions for me to send Brannan and Bayliss to him Saturday evening and Kalfus and Thomas Sunday morning, and the circumstances of Bullitt's arrest before having an opportunity to impart any information to them, or to either of them, and of Bullitt's confinement under guard, with no possibility of our having any communication with him whatever, and that Doctor Kalfus and Mr. Thomas had sent me to him to obtain from him the information necessary to enable us to carry out the programme as arranged for Kentucky. The first question Dodd asked me was to know if Bullitt had been searched when he was arrested, and I told him that Bullitt had not been searched, which he had not been, *in my presence*. Dodd said that he "hoped that they had treated him (Bullitt,) like a gentleman, and had not searched him, as he had on his person drafts on Montreal for money," and that he had told Bullitt when he (Dodd,) left Chicago that he (Bullitt,) had better not go to Canada, that it might create suspicion, and that he might have known that he would be arrested. Dodd was so excited at Bullitt's arrest that he grated his teeth, pulled at his hair, and walked the floor back and forth many times. He finally took a seat with me in an obscure corner of the room, and to impress upon me the importance of the information that he would give me he told me that if it was not from the fact of Bullitt's arrest before he was enabled to impart the information necessary for the carrying out of the part of the uprising to be done in Kentucky that there was no living man that could obtain that information from him in detail as he was now going to give it to me, and further, that he would even now go ahead and attempt to carry out the designs of the Order as agreed upon at Chicago without the co-operation of the Order in Kentucky before he would impart this information to any other man than me. He gave me this preliminary to the more thoroughly impress upon me the importance of the work, and of his confidence in my having the part of the work assigned to

ANDREW HUMPHREYS,

Brigadier General, Sons of Liberty, State of Indiana.

A Treasonable Organization In The North,
During the Civil War of 1861-65.

Kentucky to do properly carried out. He then proceeded to tell me that the Supreme Council, or Committee of Sixteen, that had met in Chicago, had decided upon certain actions to be taken in Illinois. Indiana. Kentucky, and Missouri, and such forces from Ohio as could be obtained from that State, should act in conjunction with the rebel Colonels Leonidas A. Sypert. George Jesse. Taylor, and Major Adam R. Johnson, then in Kentucky, as soon as those Commanders would be ready to co-operate with the Order of Sons of Liberty, but that, since his leaving Chicago he had decided to act on the Tuesday, August 16th, with the co-operation of Sypert. Jesse. Taylor, and Johnson, if they were ready to act by that date, and if they were not ready by that date, then the members of the Order of Sons of Liberty would begin hostilities without their co-operation: that on that day the organized and armed troops of the Order of Sons of Liberty would seize Camp Morton at Indianapolis and release the rebel prisoners there, march with them to the Government and State arsenals in Indianapolis, seize the arsenals, and arm the rebel prisoners, and such of their own men as were not well armed, seize Governor Morton and hold him as a hostage, or kill him, as circumstances seemed best; for there seemed to be no compunction on the part of these traitors as to the justifiableness of the murder of Governor Morton. (in fact, assassination seemed to be one of the leading tenets of the Order.) place Secretary of State James S. Athon in the Governorship of the State, and seize the Louisville, Jeffersonville and Indianapolis Railroad, and convey the members of this Order and the released rebel prisoners to Louisville, there to join and co-operate with the members of the Order in Kentucky. The members of the Order in Illinois were to concentrate at Chicago, Springfield, and Rock Island, and release the rebel prisoner in Camp Douglas at Chicago, and those at Rock Island, and seize the arsenals at those places and at Springfield, and thoroughly arm and equip those released rebel prisoners; the three divisions in Illinois to

seize railroads that would convey them to the most available points in Missouri, where they would form with the forces of the Order of Sons of Liberty in Missouri, and the combined forces of the Order from Illinois and Missouri, together with the released prisoners from the Illinois military prisons were to co-operate with a Confederate force of 20,000 men that Jeff. Davis was to send into Missouri under Command of the Confederate General Sterling Price. The members of the Order in Ohio were to release the rebel prisoners at Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio, and at Johnson's Island, and assist them in getting into Kentucky; and the combined forces of Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio, with the rebel prisoners released in Indiana and Ohio were to join the force that was to be sent by Jeff. Davis into Kentucky, under Command of General Buckner, or Breckenridge, and make Kentucky and Missouri the battle ground. Dodd gave me this as the programme decided upon at Chicago as afterward changed by him, to be carried out on the fixed date of August 16th, whether Sypert, Jesse, Taylor and Johnson were ready to co-operate at that time or not. It was not intended that any part of the States of Indiana or Illinois should be used as a battle ground after the release of the rebel prisoners in those States, as that would cause a sentiment of action in those States and the North that would over-balance the strength of the forces taken from those States to the assistance of the Confederacy. Dodd did not tell me how the forces of the Order of Sons of Liberty in Illinois and Ohio were to be called together, but in Indiana it was expected to induce the Democratic Central Committee to call a Democratic Mass Meeting to be held on August 16th on grounds just outside of Indianapolis and near Camp Morton, and he would then direct his Major Generals to order every available man of the organization of Sons of Liberty to attend that mass meeting; to come armed to the best of their ability, come in wagons or any kind of vehicles, with their arms concealed in the beds therof, covered with hay or straw (supposedly

for the feeding of their animals,) or any other concealment they might think best; and in the evening at a certain signal given by him, of which their Officers would be advised, each man was to take the arms from his vehicle and fall in line for immediate action. It was thought by Dodd that with this line of action every-thing would be so quietly and quickly done that they would release the prisoners before the alarm could be given, and as the prisoners themselves would be thoroughly informed of the procedure that the seizure of the arsenal, arming of the prisoners, capture of Governor Morton, and all other moves to be made would be accomplished without delay.

At Louisville there was to be, on the same day, a Grand Democratic Barbacue given at a point just outside the city, which the members of the Order of Sons of Liberty were to be notified by their Officers to attend in the same manner as at the democratic mass meeting at Indianaplis, and when as many of the law abiding citizens of Louisville as could be induced to attend this barbacue were in the height of their enjoyment the City of Louisville was to be set on fire in as many as twelve to twenty places, distributed all over the city, by means of the Greek Fire process, and while the attention of every-body was attracted to these fires the armed members of this amnable Order were to seize their arms from the vehicles, rush into the city and take armed possession, and hold the city until the armed members of the Order and he armed prisoners should arrive from Indianapolis, when he combined forces could easily hold possession against ll forces that the Goverment could immediately bring gainst them, as there were no Federal Troops at Louisville other than a small Provost Guard.

After Dodd gave me this information and instructions, eaving the heads of the Order in Louisville to carry out he details with my advise and assistance, as might, in heir judgement seem best, he told me that he had already ent his Grand Secretary, Harrison, to see Major General Lambdin P. Milligan and Brigadier General Andrew

Humphreys and have them come to him at once to receive their detailed instructions since the changes that he had made after leaving Chicago, and that Major General John C. Walker was then on his way home from New York, and would be in Indianapolis some time during this week; and that Major General William A. Bowles was fully advised, and prepared to carry out any orders given.

It will be seen that Grand Commander Harrison H. Dodd, of Indianapolis, was the real Working Head of the Order, although Clement L. Vallandigham was the nominal Supreme Head of the Order, but was overruled by Dodd in the Active Work.

After my conference with Dodd was ended he wished me to return to Louisville as soon as possible, and get the wheels in motion there, but there being no train from Indianapolis to Louisville until night I had Mr. Prentice convey word to General Carrington and Governor Morton that I wished to meet them at General Carrington's Office at 8 o'clock that night. When the band began to play in the theatre balcony I was at my usual lamp post very much interested in the band until I saw the General and the Governor go up stairs to the General's Office, when I took my usual course to the General's Office, and reported to them in detail the information that I had that morning received from Dodd, and found Governor Morton not so sanguine of the entire recklessness of these conspirators as he had been at the meeting at his Office on the night of July 29th; but on the other hand that if the Government did not have timely information of their intentions that they might stand a good chance of carrying out their hellish designs: and the General admitted the feasibility of their doing so, though he thought hardly the possibility of their doing so, now that the Government was in possession of their plans and intentions, as the Government would now take steps to reinforce with troops the points decided upon for attack by these conspirators.

I will submit it to the judgment of any man as to who was the working head of this gigantic conspiracy against

the Government. Clement L. Vallandigham was the acknowledged head of the Order of Conspirators, but, while he returned from his exile into the Confederacy, and from there into the Province of Canada, one of the possessions of Great Britain, from where he returned into the United States on the 15th of June 1864, where was he ever heard of as an active participator, or of his having any intention of participating in the hazardous work laid out for the Order in the releasing of rebel prisoners, seizing arsenals, and executing the military designs of the Order. Vallandigham took *no active part* in any of this work; and even his suggestions and advice were *overruled* by the *Active Working Head* of the Order, HARRISON H. DODD, of Indianapolis. It was Dodd, and not Vallandigham that had the conference with Jacob Thompson, J. J. Holcomb, and C. C. Clay at Niagara Falls, Canada, before the meeting of July 21st in Chicago, at which Vallandigham presided, and at which meeting it was decided that the Order of Sons of Liberty should wait for the co-operation of Sypert, Jesse, Taylor, and Johnson, or if acting before they were ready the time of acting should be determined and ordered by Vallandigham; and it was at this convention of the Order in session at Chicago July 22nd, 1864, under Vallandigham's instructions that the contemplated insurrection was postponed until the active co-operation of the Confederate forces under Price in Missouri and Buckner in Kentucky, and the guerrilla bands of the rebel Colonels Sypert, Jesse, Taylor, and Johnson could participate, which postponement, after the adjournment of the convention, was *overruled by Dodd*, and the *definite day of August 16th ordered by him as the date of action*, with the co-operation of the Confederate and guerrilla forces if they were ready, but *should begin on that date whether they were ready or not.*

There is an old adage that forewarned is forearmed, and in this instance the saving of the United States Government lay almost wholly in the fact of the Government Officials being fully forewarned, and ready to meet these

conspirators in any move they would make, as the Government was as fully advised of their intentions as the leaders of the conspiracy themselves were, as General Carrington testifies in his reports.

The fact of the knowledge by the South of the existence of their treasonable allies in the North, the Sons of Liberty, caused the prolonging of the war of the rebellion after the battle of Gettysburg July 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, 1863, and the surrender of Vicksburg July 4th, 1863, for nearly two years afterward, what would have been the result and cost to the Government of the United States in lives and treasure if these traitors had succeeded in putting 75,000 well armed, well drilled Veteran Soldiers from the rebel prisoners and the Order of Sons of Liberty into the rebel army in August 1864? We *know* that the war *was* prolonged after the disasters of the rebels at Gettysburg and Vicksburg for nearly two years solely on the reliance of the assistance of this treasonable organization of Sons of Liberty, and can well conjecture what the further prolongation of the war would have been if these conspirators had been able to carry out their hellish designs and intentions as designed by Dodd.

July 22nd, 1863, Hannibal Hamlin, Vice President of the United States, declared that General R. E. Lee's escape from Pennsylvania put the war back "another year," and President Lincoln said that it was the "greatest blunder of the war."

I returned to Louisville on the night train, and the next morning reported to Kalfus and Thomas the information I had received from Dodd, and his great caution in giving it to me. I also made a full detailed written report, and sent it by messenger to Colonel Fairleigh. On Thursday morning, August 4th, I called to see Colonel Fairleigh in his room at the Louisville Hotel to learn of him how Bullitt's arrest had been caused, when he told me that he had gotten up early on Saturday morning in Indianapolis and taken a walk to the railroad depot, where had seen Bullitt going to the train, and that he had telegraphed to Louis-

ville to have Bullitt arrested immediately on his arrival in Louisville. He also informed me that in the sachel that Bullitt had carried that seemed so heavy, there was five thousand ($5,000.00,) dollars in gold, Bullitt evidently having gone from Chicago to Montreal and had one of the two $5,000.00 checks that had been given to him in Chicago by the Fiscal Agent of the Confederate Government cashed in Montreal. The other check for $5,000.00 was found on Bullitt's person, and confiscated by the Government. James A. Barrett, Grand Commander of the Sons of Liberty for the State of Missouri was Chief of Staff of Supreme Commander Clement L. Vallandigham; and Fiscal Agent of the Confederate Government for the disbursement of two million($2,000,000)dollars gold, said to have been captured from a United States Paymaster on Red River in Louisiana, and sent into Canada, to be used by the Order of Sons of Liberty in paying the 10 per cent. of the value, for the destruction of United States Government property, and for the organizing, arming, and putting into the field of action the Order of Sons of Liberty. It was a part of this money that was placed in the hands of Dodd, Bullitt, Walker, and others, at the meeting in Chicago of July 21st, Bullitt's part of which fell into the hands of the United States Military Authorities in Louisville. Robert Holloway of Illinois was Deputy Supreme Commander of the Order, and Doctor Massey of Ohio was Supreme Secretary and Secretary of State of the Order.

After leaving Colonel Fairleigh's room I started for Dr. Bowles' home, arriving there that evening. On the road between Paoli and French Lick Springs I met Dodd's 14 year old son coming from Doctor Bowles. I told Bowles that I had come to confer with him in regard to the general uprising of the Order to take place on August 16th. He at first hesitated to go into details with me on the subject, but when I told him of Bullitt's arrest on the Saturday before, and of my having been to Dodd on Tuesday and got from him the details of the change of plan, from what it had been agreed upon at Chicago, and he saw that

I knew more of the details of the intended insurrection than he knew himself, he was willing to talk freely with me, and told me of the expected co-operation of the rebel forces under Colonels Sypert, Jesse, Taylor, and Johnson, and gave me the results of the conference in Chicago just as Dodd had given them to me, but he did not know as much about the change in the plans after leaving Chicago as Dodd had given to me. He told me that he had just received a communication from Dodd by Dodd's son, which he did not as yet fully understand about the change to the intention to begin the insurrection on August 16th regardless of whether Sypert, Jesse, Taylor, and Johnson were ready to co-operate or not, but now that he had learned more fully the circumstances from me that he would proceed as rapidly as possible to place his entire command in the best possible condition for effective action. Having fully verified by Bowles the truth of all the statements made to me and the information given me by Dodd, I felt fully warranted in backing up by any and all means in my power, even with my life if necessary, the information and advice that I had given the Officers of my Government. Here was a treasonable secret organization against our Government proceeding calmly and deliberately, and with almost every show of success, with the avowed intention of putting members of this Order and released rebel prisoners, all well drilled, and thoroughly armed and equipped with supplies seized from the United States Government and State Arsenals, at the least calculation seventy-five thousand (75,000) able bodied men for active and immediate duty in the Confederate Army. What would have been the result? Think of it! The Government with every available man at the front reinforcing our armies in Georgia and Virginia, with not enough available men in the border and Northern States to even properly guard the forty thousand (40,000) prisoners from the South then in our possession. What would have been the result had these conspirators been enabled to carry out their designs and reinforce the South

with seventy-five thousand (75,000) fresh, well armed and well drilled men? Would it not have prolonged the war at least another two years, or more; and at the fearful cost of a hundred thousand lives or more, and hundreds, perhaps a thousand millions of dollars of treasure?

While the Government knew of the existence of this treasonable organization, and had kept track of the changes of names from its organization of the "Circle of Honor," going to the "Knights of the Golden Circle," later to the "Order of American Knights," and finally on the 22nd of February 1864 to the "Order of Sons of Liberty," it had never been able to get the manner in which it would ultimately carry out the intentions in detail until the spring and summer of 1864, for the reason that no man in the employ of the Government had ever been able to get farther into the Orders than one or two of the lower degrees, the members of which degrees *never* came in communication with the *leaders* of the Orders, and the members of these lower degrees of the Orders were *never* informed of any of the details, and in fact in most instances did not even know the names of the directing heads of the Order. General Carrington in Indianapolis himself had eighteen men at work trying to get details of the workings of the Order of Sons of Liberty, but at the time of the trials of the leaders of the Order in Indianapolis in September, October, and November 1864, there was not a single one of these eighteen men that had enough information of the workings of the Order to enable him to be put upon the witness stand in those trials.

In the Official Report of Brigadier General W. H. H. Terrell, Adjutant General of the State of Indiana, titled "Indiana in the War," in his treating on the Knights of the Golden Circle, and Sons of Liberty, in volume I, page 307, the following paragraph occurs: "Though what are called the 'secrets' of the Order, its oaths, signs and passwords, were all discovered as often as they were changed, no discovery of the schemes (or intentions,) of the Order was made public until the trial of Dodd and his associates.

The revelations then made left nothing (more) to be learned," of their designs and intentions.

These schemes and intentions of the Order, though kept profoundly secret by the leaders of the Order, not even communicated to the members or lower Officers of the Order, had all been imparted to me as one of the High Officers of the Order, and had all been promptly reported by me to General Carrington in Indianapolis, and to Colonel Fairleigh in Louisville; and General Carrington writes to me in a letter dated: Hyde Park, Mass., February 16th, 1903, "Friend Stidger: * * * With your disclosures we had all in our hands, whenever ready to seize them, (the leaders of the conspiracy,) and we so fully knew their plans that they could make no public demonstration without getting caught in the act. You held the key to the reserve policy, that would not fail to secure peace and their defeat. It was an hour when, if ever, the Sons of Liberty began to think they had the rear of the Federal Army in their control. *We Knew Better.* A true history of the whole matter succinctly told must command confidence and make valuable history. The trial (of the leaders of this conspiracy,) was the culmination, through your own work. The Historic facts, so abundantly supported by many volumes of the Rebellion Records, the antecedent condition, most promising in recognition." "Your 'say so' will have the sanction of irresistable documentary support."

CHAPTER XI.

THE "ESCAPES" TO CANADA; REPORT OF GENERAL CARRINGTON; MY START TO SYPERT'S CAMP; ATTEMPT TO ARREST ME; EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS; GENERAL HOVEY'S REPORT CORRECTED; BINGHAM'S TESTIMONY; DESIGNS OF CONSPIRATORS NOT ABANDONED; PAPERS CAPTURED IN VOORHEES' OFFICE; I NEVER RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM ANY OFFICER.

I remained at Bowles' home until Monday, August 8th,

when I went to Indianapolis and had an unimportant conference with Dodd, as there was nothing further for me to learn from him. At night I went to General Carrington's Office and reported to him and Governor Morton the confirmation by Bowles of the details as given me by Dodd on the previous Tuesday, and told General Carrington that I should attempt to have a conference with the rebel Colonel Leonidas A. Sypert, who was then in camp near Henderson, Kentucky. The train from Louisville came into the depot at Indianapolis but a few minutes before the train for Louisville left Indianapolis at night, and I was in the depot when it came in, and I saw nearly a carload of the members of the Order from Louisville, many of whom I was personally acquainted with, leaving the Louisville train and making for the Bellefontaine train, which was just ready to go out. Charlie Miller and several others who knew me stopped to ask where I was going, and when I told them I was going to Louisville they explained to me to not go there, as the military authorities were arresting all the leaders in Louisville, and that I would most certainly be arrested if I went there; that those I saw get off the train were all going to Canada, and that I had better go to Canada with them. They told me that Kalfus, Thomas, and all the leaders had been arrested but me; that the d-m—d Yankees had gone to Kalfus' house, and to the bed where he and his wife were sleeping and taken the Rituals and By-Laws from the mattress of the bed, knowing just where to look for them without making any pretense whatever of a search. I told them that I could not go to Canada at that time, and wished them a safe journey. I went to Louisville on the train leaving a few minutes afterward, and the next morning reported to Colonel Fairleigh the confirmation by Bowles of the information and details given to me by Dodd a week before, and of meeting a number of his "escapes" at the depot in Indianapolis the night before on their way to Canada.

Extracts from War Records of the Civil War of 1861-65;

Series I, Volume XXXIX, part 2, page 237, of August 9th, 1864; Report of General Henry B. Carrington to General S. P. Heintzelman. "On the border (in Kentucky,) there are four detachments of rebels under Jesse, Sypert, Taylor, and Johnson. They number together over 2,000 men. Last night one of my confidential agents started from Louisville, Ky., to visit them all, to learn whether they proposed to act in concert with their friends in Indiana and Illinois. This agent, 'Stidger,' is Grand Secretary of the Order (of Sons of Liberty,) in Kentucky, and since the arrest of Judge Bullitt (Grand Commander of the Order for the State of Kentucky,) is accepted as the only safe man in that State for these traitors to negotiate with. He spent Sunday with Col. Wm. A. Bowles, leading Major General of the Order in this State, at French Lick Springs. At this conference orders were produced from H. H. Dodd, Grand Commander for Indiana, to make a demonstration on the 16th inst." "Having due notice of their plans I expect to anticipate them, but it will not do to ignore them. The leaders of the Order are desperate men, They have little to lose, all to gain by disorder. I am surprised at their knowledge of rebel movements. They have a wonderful intuition, or a perfect system of information."

On page 260 of same volume General Carrington gives as follows of the leaders of the Order in Indiana. "H. H. Dodd. Indianapolis; Horace Heffren, Salem; J. J. Bingham, (Editor and proprietor of the Indiana State Sentinel, the leading democratic newspaper of the State,) Indianapolis; Andrew Humphreys, Linton, Greene Co., Ind.; L. P. Milligan, Huntington; Wm. A. Bowles, French Lick Springs, Orange Co. Linton and French Lick Springs are quite removed from railroads, and surrounded by traitors."

When the military authorities in Louisville decided to begin the arrest of the Leaders of these Sons of Liberty conspirators in Louisville, Kalfus having confidentially informed me that the copies of the Rituals, Constitutions, and By-Laws of the Order that I had brought to him from

Indianapolis were—for safe keeping,—kept in the mattress of the bed where he and his wife slept, and I had so reported to Colonel Fairleigh, and when the detectives were sent to Kalfus' house at night to arrest him, the d-m—d fools, (as I can hardly characterize them otherwise,) instead of making a pretended search for such illegal articles or documents as Kalfus might have in his possession, went at once direct to his bed, and turned down the covering to the hiding place of these pamphlets, seemingly as well informed as Kalfus himself was as to their exact location, thereby pointing almost positively to me as the source of information as to where the pamphlets were. Whether Kalfus had informed others as to their hiding place, or whether he was so much surprised at his arrest and the seizure of those pamphlets, and his having the utmost confidence in my *bona fide* sincerity in the Order as to have no suspicion as to my having been the informant, I never knew, as I never saw Kalfus after his arrest, though after the uprising of the Order of Sons of Liberty had been thoroughly broken up he was released from the military prison in Memphis, Tennessee, where he had been confined. The finding of these Rituals, Constitutions, and By-Laws in the mattress of Kalfus' bed is also noted by Judge Advocate General Holt in his Official Report to the Hon. Secretary of War, of October 8th, 1864, Article V, as having been reported to the military authorities by me. (See report at end of this vol.)

Kalfus' name is given in the Official Reports of the United States Government as H. U. Kalfus, and in the Official Reports of the Confederate Government as H. F. Kalbfus, while his correct name was Henry F. Kalfus; Thomas' name is also given in the United States Government Reports as William R. Thomas, while his correct name was William K. Thomas.

After the leaders in Louisville were arrested, and while confined in the military prison there, I found there was one quite prominent man, whom I knew well, that had not been arrested, and I met him on the South side of Jeffer-

son Street between Third and Fourth Streets and gave him a lengthy and plausible reason as to why the Government had not had me arrested, saying, it was because I had been an enlisted man in the army, and the Government Officers for that reason did not suspect me of any connection with the Order of Sons of Liberty, and I had Mr. Prentice with two detectives who did not know me, that as soon as I had left the man these two detectives should arrest him and he should be confined with Kalfus and the other leaders, that he might inform them as to why I was not arrested; and not a one of them had the least suspicion against me until I appeared in the Court as a witness against Dodd in Indianapolis, more than a month afterward.

During the same day on which I had had this man arrested I came across a young man, Jeff. Murray, who had been to my Office several times, and who was a member of the Order, and had been raised at Henderson, Kentucky, but had married a Louisville girl and was living in Louisville. I told him that I was going to Henderson the next day to try and get to see Colonel Sypert, and Murray told me that as his people lived in Henderson and he had been intending to go to see them for some time that he would like to go with me. As I was an entire stranger in Henderson I knew Murray could assist me in getting to Sypert's camp. Wednesday morning I met Murray and we went to New Albany, Indiana, together to take the train from New Albany to Evansville, and while walking from the ferryboat to the depot in New Albany Murray made the remark that a man had started the night before from Louisville on horse-back to go to Sypert's camp. The thought struck me instantly that that man had been sent by some-one in Louisville to notify Sypert that I was coming, and that I was, in some way, under suspicion, but I went on with Murray to Evansville, and Henderson being twelve miles below Evansville, on the Ohio River, with communication only by a small steamboat each way once daily, we had to remain in Evansville until the next morn-

ing. I thoroughly considered the circumstances which Murray had remarked that morning and decided that I would not go to Henderson, and so informed Murray the next morning, and I returned to Louisville. Murray continued his trip to Henderson, and although he had intended to return to Louisville within three or four days I kept diligent watch and inquiry for him for the next three weeks that I remained in Louisville and I was not able to learn that he had ever returned, and I was satisfied that Sypert had learned of our leaving Louisville together, and Murray arriving at Henderson without me that he had connected the two of us with suspicion and had captured and imprisoned, or in some way made way with Murray. I mention this instance as one of the many narrow escapes I made during my four months service in this hazardous occupation.

After my return to Louisville, I being the only prominent member of the Order of Sons of Liberty in Louisville who had not been either arrested or fled the city, it was but a few hours until Major ———— secret service men learned of my presence in the city, so on Friday, August 12th, when I went to my regular boarding house for dinner my landlady, an old lady that had lived in the town where I was born and raised, and had known me from my childhood, but who had no more idea than the dead as to what I was doing at that time, told me that there had been two gentlemen there that morning to see me, and when she had asked them if they wished to leave any word for me, they had told her they did not, but they would call again; I asked her description of them, which she gave me. I did not, from the description, recognize either of them, but knew well at once who they were. My brother and my other assistant, Mr. Prentice, both boarded at the same house, so after we had eaten our dinner I told Mr. Prentice to go to Major ———— and explain to him that two of his secret service men had been to my boarding house that morning to arrest me, and to ask the Major if it was necessary that I should be arrested. The Major

knew Prentice well; knew that he was a detailed soldier working in the secret service under General Carrington in Indianapolis, and also knew that he had seen Prentice a great-deal about Louisville, but never reporting to him any of his (Prentice's,) work, or asking for any instructions or assistance, or giving him any information whatever. Prentice went to the Major's Office and told him of two of his men having been to my boarding house that morning to arrest me, and asked of the Major if there was not some mistake about it. The Major told Prentice very forcibly that there was no mistake about it, and that he had sent the men to arrest me; that I was one of the ringleaders of that d-m—d treasonable organization of the Sons of Liberty, and that he intended to have me. Prentice again expressed himself that might there not be some mistake about the ordering of my arrest, when the Major got mad and said there was no mistake about it; that I was one of the leaders and that he intended to have me, and went on to tell Prentice that there were six of his men had sworn that I had initiated them in that d-m—d treasonable organization, giving the names of the six men, all of whom Prentice knew, and among the six was the man Hall, whom I myself knew at the time that I initiated him that he was a Government Detective; and that he, the Major, knew that I was one of the leaders, and that he'd be d-m—d if he didn't intend to have me too; and that I had even had the audacity to apply to him to be employed in the United States Government Secret Service, as he now supposed—to enable me to keep those d-m—d conspirators informed of what the Government was doing, and what the Government Officers had learned about the Sons of Liberty; that I had been a United States Soldier, and he supposed that I had been a d-m—d pretty soldier too. After he had gotten through with his tirade of abuse of me Prentice laughed at him, and without giving him any information remarked to him, "Major, you had better go and see Colonel Fairleigh before you have Stidger arrested," and then left the Major. Prentice then went to see Colonel

Fairleigh himself, and asked the Colonel if he had ordered my arrest, and the Colonel told Prentice that he had not, and that he would immediately order the Major to make only such arrests as he was ordered to make. Prentice told Colonel Fairleigh, by my direction, that, although I was to be married two weeks from that time and did not wish to be arrested if it was not necessary to do so, yet, if the Colonel considered that there was anything to be gained for the Government by my arrest and confinement with the men already under arrest, for him to do so; but the Colonel did not know of anything to be gained, and I was not arrested.

Major ———— told Mr. Prentice afterward that he had known for some time that Colonel Fairleigh was getting an immense amount of valuable information of the treasonable organization of Sons of Liberty from some source other than the regular channel of information, his Office; and that it had been a great wonder and annoyance to him that this information came to Colonel Fairleigh when with his force of men whose duty it was to get that information, he could never get anything until after Colonel Fairleigh had always been a great-deal more fully informed than anything the Major could give him; but that he had never had the least suspicion that that information was coming, and reliably, from almost the very fountain head of the Order itself in Louisville until Mr. Prentice had told him that he "had better see Colonel Fairleigh" before he proceeded further in my arrest, when he realized the fact that the true source of the Government's information was from the almost head of the Order, and he knew it was of no use to see Colonel Fairleigh to justify him in ordering his men to not arrest me, and he was only too glad that they had not found me.

War Records of the Civil War of 1861-65; Series 1, Volume XXXIX, Part 2, page 281: "Secretary of War E. M. Stanton, at the request of Governor Morton of Indiana, August 21st, ordered General Alvin P. Hovey to the command of the District of Indiana.

On page 287 of same volume; final order for General Hovey to assume command of the District of Indiana was issued August 22nd, at 4:10 o'clock P. M. and General Hovey assumed the command on August 25th, 1864.

On page 295 of same volume is the following report:

"Headquarters Military District of Indiana.
Indianapolis, August 24th, 1864.

To Lieut. Col. S. H. Lathrop, A. A. A. Genl.,
Columbus, Ohio.

Have seized 400 revolvers, 135,000 rounds of ammunition, (for same,) and Grand Seal of Sons of Liberty, with Rituals and correspondence in office of H. H. Dodd, Grand Commander for this State. Dodd has disappeared, but intercepted letters show him to be in St. Paul, Minn.

H. B. Carrington, Brigadier General,
Commanding District of Indiana."

(August 25th, 1864, John C. Walker, Major General of the Order of Sons of Liberty, wrote from Chicago to Governor Morton demanding the return to him (Walker,) of the arms and ammunition seized by General Carrington, claiming it as his private property.)

Series 2, Volume VII, page 340.

"Headquarters Northern District of Indiana,
Indianapolis, June 6th, 1864.

* * * I shall be able to make a clear case against Colonel Bowles of enlisting men for the rebel army, secreting rebel Officers, and plotting war against the Government. He has full confidence in my chief detective, (Stidger,) and so has Judge Bullitt.

H. B. Carrington,
Brig. General Commanding District."

Indianapolis, Ind., July 30th, 1864.

General H. B. Carrington:

"Joshua Bullitt of Kentucky is here. He is the leader of a conspiracy in Kentucky, the entire intention of which is to aid the enemy,—give them aid and comfort, and in a corresponding degree injure the country at large.—Bullitt, though a resident of Kentucky, is now here, not as a

citizen, but as a visitor, and it is uncertain when he will be in Kentucky. His offense is enormous, and demands immediate action, and I respectfully request that you cause him to be arrested, and forward him to me at Louisville, under strong guard."

I am, your obedient servant,

S. G. Burbridge, Major General,
Commanding District of Kentucky.

At the time when the above letter was written Bullitt and myself were on the train together, going to Louisville, and Bullitt was arrested in Louisville immediately on our arrival there.

"Headquarters Northern Department,
White Sulphur Springs, Ohio, July 31st, 1864,
1 o'clock P. M.

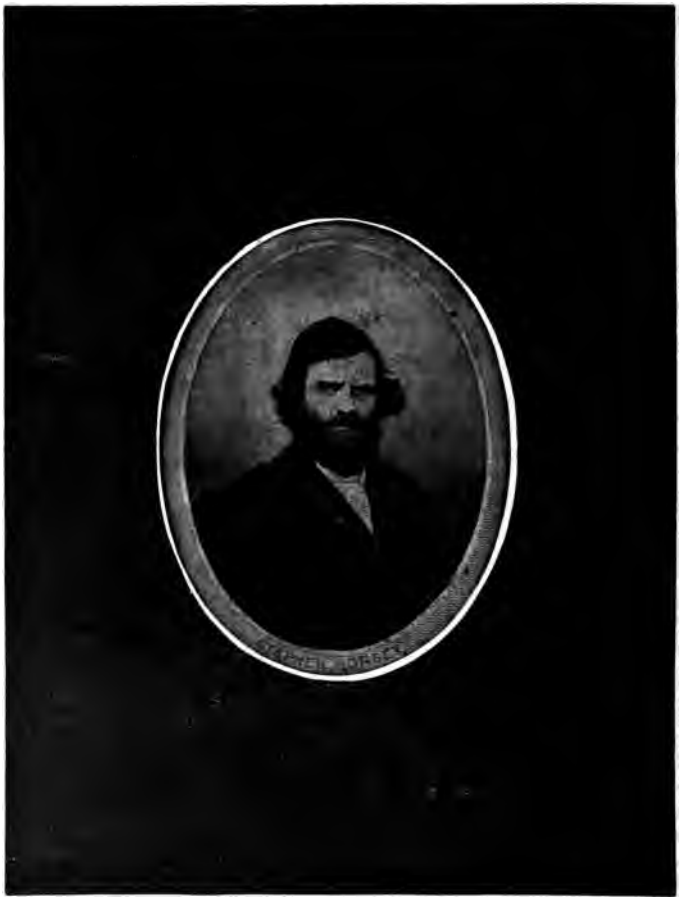
Brigadier General Henry B. Carrington,
Indianapolis, Ind.

You can arrest Judge Bullitt and turn him over to General Burbridge on the latters requisition. * * *

S. P. Heintzelman, Maj. Genl. Commanding."

About the time of the arrest of Harrison in Indianapolis Dodd fled and went to St. Paul, Minn., where he remained until the time of the Democratic National Convention, held in Chicago August 29th, and after the adjournment of the Convention returned to Indianapolis, where he was arrested on September 3rd.

In an official report made by Brevet Major General Alvin P. Hovey to Brigadier General L. Thomas, Adjutant General United States Army, dated, Headquarters District of Indiana, Indianapolis, August 10th, 1865, and included in the report of General W. H. H. Terrell, Adjutant General of the State of Indiana, titled "Indiana in the War," Volume I, Statistics of Documents, page 284, the following paragraph occurs: "And probably the strongest reason, in this State, why the outbreak did not occur at that time, was the fact that the Hon. M. C. Kerr, Member Congress, Second Congressional District,(and member the Order of Sons of Liberty,) and Hon. Joseph E.



STEPHEN HORSEY.

CONSPIRATOR, SONS OF LIBERTY, STATE OF INDIANA.

A Treasonable Organization In The North,
During the Civil War of 1861-65.

McDonald, (Democratic Candidate for Governor,) and others, who were leaders of the Democracy at the time, learned the fact, called a meeting at Indianapolis, and prevailed upon those commanding the conspiracy to desist." Personally I *know* this to be *incorrect*, though I do not ask that my statement be taken in the matter, but will cite the testimony of Joseph J. Bingham, Editor of the Indiana State Sentinel, as sworn to by him before the Military Commission sitting in the trial of Bowles, Milligan, Humphreys, Heffren, and Horsey, in Indianapolis, on the 28th day of October, 1864. Michael C. Kerr, a member of the United States House of Representatives from the Second Congressional District in the State of Indiana, was duly initiated into the Order of Sons of Liberty by Horace Heffren, Deputy Grand Commander of the Order for the State of Indiana, at New Albany, Indiana, in the harness shop of a Mr. Graff, on the right hand side of Main Street as you go East, taking all the Degrees of the Order the same night, Tuesday, March 8th, 1864. This was sworn to by Heffren in his testimony before the Military Commission when he was allowed to turn States evidence November 4th, 1864.

Bingham's evidence was: "On the 3rd of August Mr. Dodd came to my room and said he wanted to have a talk with me, but that I must give him my word of honor that what he said to me I would not reveal to any living being. He said that at a meeting, or Council of Sixteen, at which Judge Bullitt and Doctor Bowles were present, that a revolution had been determined upon; that arrangements had been made to release the (rebel) prisoners at Johnson's Island, at Camp Chase, near Columbus, Ohio; Camp Morton, Camp Douglas, and Rock Island; and at the same time there was to be an uprising at Louisville, at which the Government stores, etc., were to be seized; and that this revolution was going to take place at several points on the 16th of August. He made the suggestion to me that, as I was Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, that I should call a mass meeting of the

Democracy for the 16th of August, to take some expression against the draft, and to give instructions to the delegates who were to attend the Chicago (Democratic National) Convention to be held on the 29th of August. On my declining to call a mass meeting Dodd then made application to Joseph E. McDonald (Democratic candidate for the Governorship of the State of Indiana,) to urge him to induce me to call a mass meeting, but I declined to do it. I went to see Mr. Joseph E. McDonald and talk the matter over with him; This on the 4th of August. I told Mr. McDonald all that Mr. Dodd had told me, and the circumstances under which he had told me. We talked the matter over some time, and finally came to the conclusion that we would sleep over it. At 9 o'clock at night I started to my office, and met Mr. Michael C. Kerr on Washington Street. He seemed very much excited, and told me the devil was to pay in Washington, Harrison, and Floyd Counties, and that the neighborhood had got the idea that a revolution was impending. As we walked along he turned around once or twice to see if any detectives were following us. We then went back to Mr. McDonald's house and got him up, and Kerr told him the state of affairs, and involved Doctor James S. Athon, Secretary of State, in the matter, and that Doctor Athon was to be Provisional Governor of the State. McDonald said we would all meet in the morning. The next day (August 5th,) about 8 or 9 o'clock we met at McDonald's Office; McDonald, Democratic Candidate for Governor of Indiana; Judge Rhoads, William Henderson, Oscar B. Hord, Democratic Candidate for Attorney General; Aquilla Jones, Samuel H. Buskirk, Joseph Ristine, Kerr, myself, and I think Doctor David T. Yeakle, and Colonel Caldwell of LaFayette. We had a consultation about the matter, and came to the conclusion that the matter must be stopped. After a while Dodd and John C. Walker came in. In the consultation it was stated that if it could not be stopped in any other way, it was our duty to inform the authorities. Dodd and Walker did not acknowledge that

any such scheme was entertained; but both spoke very earnestly about the state of public affairs; that the Government could not be restored again under the old state of things without a forcible revolution, and that it was better to direct the revolution than to have the revolution direct us. I was satisfied at that time; and the question was asked me the other day why I did not inform the authorities. I was satisfied that the authorities knew as much about it as I did, and the circumstances seem to have shown that they did. They were informed of it before I was. Stidger was informed of it on the 29th of July, three or four days before it was communicated to me, so that General Carrington and the Authorities must have known (and did,) of it on the night of the 29th of July. I received this information from these gentlemen under peculiar circumstances, and I did not feel it incumbent on me to inform the authorities. I advised the gentlemen, (Dodd and Walker,) to leave before they should be arrested."

It will be noticed that this sworn evidence of Joseph J. Bingham was given on circumstances occurring on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of August, while General Hovey was not assigned to the Command of the District of Indiana until August 25th, and consequently had no official data on which to base the paragraph, while General Carrington, on July 29th and August 2nd was Officially informed by me of every intention and intended move of Dodd, the *Official Working Head* of the conspiracy; and General Carrington being as fully informed as Dodd was himself, was fully prepared to arrest Dodd, and the whole crew of the leaders of the conspiracy at the instant of their first move for the carrying out of their designs.

Dodd was an eccentric, erratic, monomaniac on the success of the designs of the conspirators, and was so thoroughly imbued with the assurance that the Government Authorities were in entire ignorance of his secret designs, that if he had even agreed to the stoppage of the insurrection at that time it would only have been to enable him

to devise some other means for inaugurating the insurrection. It will also be further noted that several of the men attending the meeting at McDonald's Office, were members of this treasonable organization and in full sympathy with Dodd, and every man at that meeting was a prominent man, and while they did not know that the Government Officials were in possession of any of the intentions of these conspirators, not a one of them took any means, nor made any move to inform the Authorities of the peril the Government was in danger of from these conspirators, but concealed all facts that were in their possession of the treasonable designs of these conspirators from the Government.

To any-one as familiar with the cases of the trials of these conspirators, or as familiar with the Order of Sons of Liberty as I was it was perfectly palpable that the charges and specifications on which these conspirators were tried at Indianapolis were drawn by one with but a superficial knowledge of the acts and doings of these men, and of the evidence that the Government was able to present for their conviction. The charges and specifications as drawn by General Carrington, and read by the Judge Advocate of the Military Commission to me set forth a knowledge of the information the Government possessed; but as he had been superceded, and a Commander with no information whatever as to the workings and designs of these conspirators put in his place, the charges and specifications drawn by General Carrington were thrown aside by the Judge Advocate, and new charges and specifications drawn that failed to set forth the leading characteristics of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and on which the most material facts of the workings and designs of the Order were not brought out in the trials of the conspirators. To the moment that I was called as a witness General Hovey and the Judge Advocate were almost entirely ignorant of the evidence they could produce before the Military Commission, but the instant my name was called as the first witness Dodd's

gaze and expression of countenance fully showed that HE KNEW the evidence that would be brought against him. If the General and Judge Advocate knew the evidence in the case why had they not had the other guilty parties arrested before they would become frightened at the arrest of Dodd and take advantage of that delay and make their escape? Simply from the fact that the conspirators all believed *me* to be a *bona fide* conspirator with them, and knowing that in that case there could be no convicting evidence of identity brought before the Military Commission. The Judge Advocate in the trial of Dodd learned something of the evidence that could be brought out, and in the trial of Bowles and others the charges and specifications were drawn somewhat more explicit and stronger.

In an address by the "Committee of Thirteen," Order of Sons of Liberty, issued September 8th, 1864, occurs the following: "For months past the Sons of Liberty had been closely followed by detectives. These detectives had been the victims of marvelous stories relating to 'plots and conspiracies' which had involved the capture of the Governor, and the 'crucifixion' of the great 'Letter Thief' of Indiana, General Carrington."

My work was now about over; Bullitt had been arrested and imprisoned; the other leaders of the Order in Kentucky who could be relied upon to carry on the work of the Order in that State were either arrested and in the military prison, or had fled to Canada; and through the refusal of the Democratic Central Committee at Indianapolis to call a grand mass meeting at Indianapolis for August 16th the programme could not be carried out there at that date; and although the Committee had learned the reason of Dodd's desiring that meeting for that date they very quietly kept that reason to themselves, for fear the United States Government Authorities would learn something of the secret designs of this treasonable organization, they every-one of them totally failed to in any manner allow any hint to escape them by which the Govern-

ment would obtain any information of those designs. As Joseph J. Bingham, Editor of the Indiana State Sentinel, afterward testified before the Military Commission in session at Indianapolis for the trial of some of the leaders of this conspiracy, that, while he learned of the designs and intentions of these conspirators he failed to report any part of it to Officers of either the Military or Civil Government in Indianapolis because he (Bingham,) Joseph E. McDonald, Samuel H. Buskirk, William Henderson, Judge Rhoads, Aquilla Jones, State Auditor Joseph Ristine, Doctor David T. Yeakle, Colonel Caldwell of LaFayette, Michael C. Kerr of New Albany, and others, all knowing of it were "satisfied that the Authorities were fully informed of it before they were, as Stidger was informed of it on the 29th of July, three or four days before it was communicated to them, so that General Carrington and the Authorities must have known of it on the night of the 29th of July," and through the zeal of Bowles, Heffren, and other leaders of the Order in Indiana calling upon their men to prepare themselves to take part in the insurrection on the 16th of August having caused a thorough panic in the counties of Washington, Harrison, and Floyd, as reported by Kerr, that the farmers of those counties were disposing of their wheat in the stacks, hay in the fields, and that all property that could be sold for cash was being sold to avoid possible confiscation or destruction; for those reasons a halt was called in Indiana; and subsequently Illinois, Missouri and Ohio, were for the time being, making no further preparations for active hostilities until the excitement should die out.

As an evidence that the designs of these conspirators was NOT abandoned after the meeting of McDonald, Bingham, Kerr, Dodd, Walker, and others at McDonald's Office in Indianapolis, August 5th, a meeting was held at rooms 94, 96, 98 and 100 Richmond House in Chicago on August 28th and 29th, 1864, (at the time of the Democratic National Convention held in Chicago August 29th,) at which meeting Vallandigham presided and Dodd at-

tended. One hundred and fifty to two hundred were present at this meeting, many of them delegates to the Democratic National Convention; and Vallandigham read a "platform" (which platform was afterward adopted by the Democratic National Convention without material change,) and stated that if he could get practically that platform by the Democratic National Convention he "would be willing to accept McClellan, or any other man as the Presidential Candidate on it." For further information on this point see Bingham's sworn evidence before the Military Commission given October 28th, 1864.

In the first part of August, 1864, Colonel Richard W. Thompson, Assistant Provost Marshal at Terre Haute, Indiana, caused the seizure of the papers, etc., in the office of Daniel W. Voorhees, then a member of the United States Congress, which papers, etc., were sent to General Carrington at Indianapolis, and General Carrington was accused by Voorhees of breaking into his office and robbing it. One hundred and twelve copies of the ritual of the Knights of the Golden Circle were taken from a room which had been occupied as a law office by D. W. Voorhees; Mr. Voorhees denied that the office belonged to him at the time of the capture. He said in a speech delivered August 6th, that he had had no office for more than a year, and that he had never seen a copy of the ritual till he saw it printed in the Indianapolis *Journal* in July; He asserted that he had no knowledge of the character of the documents seized, and he demanded of General Carrington a contradiction of the charge that these papers had been found in his office. To this charge General Carrington on August 16th, 1864, published an answer containing the following: "The gentlemen who found 'these papers' told me that they were found in your office. "The following are some of the circumstances that led me to think that they were correct in their supposition. Your law library and office furniture were in the office where 'these papers' were found. You had declined a nomination for Congress, and the office was reported as

not for rent, as late as April, 1864. The ritual had been issued in the autumn of 1863. "Your Congressional documents were in the office where 'these papers' were found. Your speeches up to March, of your entire Congressional career, were in the office where 'these papers' were found. "The correspondence of Senator Wall, of New Jersey, under his frank, enclosing a proposition to furnish you with twenty thousand stands of Garibaldi rifles, just imported, for which he could vouch, was in the office where 'these papers' were found. "The correspondence of C. L. Vallandigham, from Windsor, C. W., assuring you that 'our people will fight,' and that 'all is ready,' and fixing a point on the Lima road at which 'to meet you,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found. "The correspondense of Joseph Ristine, Auditor of State, declaring that he 'would like to see all Democrats united in a bold resistance to all attempts to keep ourselves an united people by force of steel,' and that 'this was a war against the Democracy, and our only hope was the successful resistance of the South,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found. "The correspondence of E. C. Hibben, who assured you that 'the Democracy was fast stiffening up, and when this war is to be openly declared as being waged for the purpose of freeing the negro, this will arouse another section of the country to arms,' and declaring that 'Lincoln bayonets are shouldered for cold-blooded murder,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found. "The correspondence of J. Hardesty, who 'wants you to have those one hundred thousand men ready, as we don't know how soon we will need them,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found. "The correspondence of J. J. Bingham, who asks you if 'you think the South has resources enough to keep the Union forces at bay,' and says, 'you must have sources of information which he has not,' was in the office where 'these papers' were found. "The correspondence of W. S. Walker, who 'keeps out of the way because they are trying to arrest him for operating in secret societies,' enclos-

ing the oaths of the K. G. C., prior to that of the O. A. K., was in the office where 'these papers' were found. "The Petition to C. L. Vallandigham, D. W. Voorhees, and Benjamin Wood, in favor of two republics, and a United South, was in the office where 'these papers' were found."

"To this statement of reasons why the office was supposed to be his own, since such papers had not been destroyed, Voorhees in answer of August 26th charged the possible use of false keys and the burglar's art for access to private confidential correspondence embracing a period of seven years. On August 29th General Carrington, accepting his statement that the office was not his, adds; *"Yet they were in that office where the ritual was found.* Grave offense! As well might a thief find fault that the stolen goods were found in his possession! As well might the burglar complain that the instruments of his craft were abstracted from his den!"

After Bullitt's arrest and confinement for a few weeks he was released on parole, but fearing of being again arrested he fled to Canada, where he remained for some two years, after which he returned to Kentucky to live unmolested.

During the entire time that I was at work for the United States Government on this conspiracy I never received an order from any Government Officer or Government Authority to assist or encourage the spread or enlargement of the Order of Sons of Liberty after the one instruction that Captain Stephen E. Jones gave me when I rendered to him my report of my first visit to Doctor Bowles; and the instruction for that time was for me to "do what I thought best and report what I had done." I never after that day asked any Government Officer or Government Authority as to what I should do, or not do; but worked altogether on my own judgement, and under the orders of the leaders of the conspiracy; and faithfully reported to the Government Officers, Colonel Fairleigh in Louisville, and General Carrington in Indianapolis what I had done, what I had learned, and what the designs and

intentions of these traitors were. Not a Government Officer in the States of Kentucky or Indiana knew anything authentically and officially of the designs and intentions of these conspirators except what I told them, so they could not give me instructions or orders even had they ever-so-much desired to do so.

During the whole time of my connection with the Order of Sons of Liberty I never solicited any-one to become a member of the Order, nor never initiated any-one to membership in the Order except those that were brought to me and properly vouched for by parties that I knew to be members of the Order, or in three or four instances where men had gotten together and decided among themselves to form a Temple of the Order, and sent to me to come to them and obligate, institute, and instruct them in the Degrees and workings of the Order.

In some of the so-called exposures of these treasonable organizations I have seen it stated that large quantities of munitions of war, infernal machines, and pikes and lances were manufactured in Indianapolis in the spring and summer of 1864. If such was the case I don't see how I, the confidante of both Dodd and Bowles, the first, the Active Working Head of the Order in the United States, the man that overruled and set aside the orders of the Supreme Council of the Order of Sixteen at Chicago, and the latter the Ranking Major General of the Order, ever escaped finding out from one or both of these men, with whom I was in constant confidential communication, the fact that these articles were being manufactured, nor why Bowles should wish me to have 3,000 or 4,000 lances made for him in Kentucky, for fear they would be found out and seized by the Government if made in Indiana. It is also stated by some of these parties that this organization numbered one-half a million of men in the North, while the statistics furnished to me as Grand Secretary of the Order for the State of Kentucky gave the entire membership of the Order in the North as near one-quarter of a million; and of these it was expected

that but about 50,000 of the members of the organization would actually participate in hostilities against the Government, and those combined with the released rebel prisoners would form an actual fighting force of at least 75,000 men to be added to the Confederate forces that Jeff. Davis would be able to send into Kentucky and Missouri, would be able to turn the tide of war, and ultimately gain the independence of the Southern Confederacy from the North, with possibly some further annexation of States that had not seceded; and from the other two hundred thousand members of the Order was expected such assistance as might be necessary in arming those who would participate in the insurrection, and assisting them to make all necessary preparations for the liberating of rebel prisoners, seizure of Government Arsenals and supplies, and as Bullitt told me when I was first introduced to him, that they "hoped to be soon able to *steal* a good living from the d-m—d sons of b—c—s," the loyal Union men of the North. These works are like some histories of the Civil War, that were compiled soon after the close of the war; compiled mostly from published statements of the newspapers, and while containing a few facts they are totally void of any personal knowledge of the statements contained therein; as not a one of the authors of these works knew any *facts* that enabled them to be called to testify in the trials of these conspirators, although corroborative witnesses were brought from both Illinois and Missouri to testify at these trials.

CHAPTER XII.

TELEGRAPHED FOR TO COME TO INDIANAPOLIS; ORDER ISSUED CONVENING MILITARY COMMISSION; DODD'S WORD OF HONOR TO NOT ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE; DODD CONFIDENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT CONVICT HIM; CHARGES AND SPECIFICATIONS.

Thursday, the 1st day of September, 1864, I made my last report to Colonel Thomas B. Fairleigh at 9 o'clock

A. M. At 10 o'clock A. M., Miss Josephine McGill and I were married, and at 2 o'clock that evening we left Louisville for our new home at Mattoon, Illinois. On September 15th I received a dispatch from Indianapolis that my immediate presence in Indianapolis was desired in the trial of Dodd and others. I took my wife and went to Indianapolis that night. On Friday morning I was requested by General Carrington to go to the Office of the Judge Advocate, where I was given an introduction by General Carrington to Brevet Major General Alvin P. Hovey, who had succeeded General Carrington in the Command of the District of Indiana; also to the Judge Advocate, and to some other Officers present. I was informed by General Hovey and the Judge Advocate of the arrest of Harrison on August 20th, and of Dodd's being arrested on September 3rd, and that they were then in prison awaiting trial; but that in looking into the evidence they had found that they had not a single witness that could be depended upon to personally identify either Dodd or Harrison as connected with the Order of Sons of Liberty; and that while they knew I had been employed by the Government with the distinct and positive understanding and intention that mine should be a *Strictly Secret Service*, and that I should not be called upon to appear as a public witness, that now that they had these men in prison they were compelled to admit that without I was willing to testify against them the Government would be compelled to release them without trial, for, while the Government had an abundance of corroborative testimony, I was the only man by whom the Government could identify these men in connection with the treasonable Order of Sons of Liberty. They told me that they had not sent for me for the purpose of in any way compelling me to testify, but for the purpose of laying the facts before me, and that General Carrington had told them that he was satisfied, from the work that I had done, and the hazardous risks that I had taken, that I would not now permit these men to be released without trial, when my identification of

them, corroborated as it could be, would most certainly result in their conviction. It did not take me one minute to decide, and tell them that, "while I knew the additional hazard of my life that I was taking, I had never yet withheld any assistance from our Government that I could possibly render it, and I should not do so in this case."

Until this time there had been no order issued convening a Military Commission to try any of these conspirators, nor no charges and specifications drawn against the accused, as it was not known until I had been conferred with whether they could try these men or not, for the reason that, while the Government could arrest and bring before the Commission hundreds of men who could, and would, testify to the existence of such an organization as the Sons of Liberty, what its objects and intentions were, who they *had been told* its Officers and leaders were, not a one of these men had ever known any one of these leaders personally as belonging to the Order of Sons of Liberty, or could positively identify a one of them as having any connection with the Order whatever; while, on the other hand, those men having personal identity of the leaders would not admit that identity on the witness stand, and could not be impeached, because, as I have before stated, the masses of the members of the Order did not know personally any of the higher Officers of the Order; while having attained the High Office of Grand Secretary of State for the State of Kentucky in the Order, and having visited the meeting of the Grand Council of the Order for the State of Indiana on June 14th at Indianapolis, and having met in Council some of the High Officers of the State of Illinois, knew personally, and could identify positively every-one of the conspirators to be tried in Indianapolis for conspiracy and treason against the United States Government.

The order convening the Military Commission was issued on September 17th, for the Commission to meet on the 19th of September. The charges and specifications not being prepared earlier the Commission held its first

session in the United States Court Rooms in Indianapolis on Thursday, September 22nd; at 10 o'clock A. M. Dodd, when arrested, to escape being confined in the military prison at Indianapolis had given his word of honor (if such a man can have a word of honor,) that if allowed to be confined in the Post Office and United States Court Building he would not make any attempt to escape, and he and Harrison were imprisoned in adjoining rooms on the third floor of the North side of the building, facing on Market Street; and while in Indianapolis before Dodd's trial began, I saw them two or three times with their heads out of the windows talking to each-other, and they seemed as good natured and jovial as though they knew their confinement was but for a short time, in fact Dodd so expressed himself, saying that he did not fear conviction, as the Government had no evidence against him whatever. When he was brought into the Court-room for the beginning of his trial on September 22nd, he had the same self-confident air and expression of countenance, appearing and speaking pleasantly to all. When the order convening the Commission was read to him he expressed himself as satisfied with the members of the Commission and the proceedings. Through his counsel he entered protest against the jurisdiction of the Commission to try his case, and on September 23d presented arguments for the purpose of sustaining such protest, which, after the reply of the Judge Advocate, the Commission, after private conference, overruled, and the trial was ordered to proceed on Tuesday, September 27th, on which date the Commission met at 2 o'clock P. M., when Dodd was arraigned on the following

CHARGES AND SPECIFICATIONS

PREFERRED AGAINST

HARRISON H. DODD,

A Citizen of the State of Indiana, United States of America.

CHARGE FIRST—Conspiracy against the Government of the United States.

Specification First.—In this, that the said Harrison H.

Dodd did, with William A. Bowles, of Indiana; Joshua F. Bullitt, of Kentucky; Richard Barrett, of the State of Missouri; and others, conspire against the Government and duly constituted authorities of the Untited States, and did join himself to, and secretly organize and disseminate, a secret society or order, known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of the Sons of Liberty, having a civil and military organization and jurisdiction, for the purpose of overthrowing the Government and duly constituted authorities of the United States. This at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

Specification Second.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd, during an existing rebellion against the Government and authorities of the United States, said rebellion claiming to be in the name and on behalf of certain States, being a part of and owing allegiance to the United States, did combine and agree with one William A. Bowles, to adopt and impart to others the creed or ritual of a secret society or order, known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of the Sons of Liberty, denying the authority of the United States to coerce to submission certain citizens of said United States, designing to lessen thereby the power and prevent the increase of the armies of the United States, and thereby did recognize and sustain the right of the citizens and States then in rebellion to disregard and resist the authority of the United States. This at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

Specification Third.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd, then a citizen of the State of Indiana, owing true faith and allegiance to the Government of the United States, and while pretending to be a peaceful and loyal citizen of said Government, did secretly and covertly combine, agree, and conspire with one William A. Bowles, of the State of Indiana; Joshua F. Bullitt, of the State of Kentucky; Richard Barrett, of the State of Missouri; and others, to overthrow and render powerless the Govern-

ment of the United States, and did, in pursuance of said combination, agreement, and conspiracy with said parties, form and organize a society or order, and did assist in extending said secret order or organization, known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of the Sons of Liberty, whose intent and purpose was to cripple and render powerless the efforts of the Government of the United States in suppressing a then existing formidable rebellion against the Government of the United States. This on or about the 16th day of May, 1864, at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana.

Specification Fourth.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd did conspire and agree with William A. Bowles, David T. Yeakle, L. P. Milligan, Andrew Humphreys, John C. Walker, and J. F. Bullitt—these men at that time holding military positions and rank in a certain secret society or organization known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of the Sons of Liberty—to seize, by force, the United States and State Arsenals, at Indianapolis, Indiana, and Columbus, Ohio; to release, by force, the rebel prisoners held by the authorities of the United States, at Camp Douglas, Illinois; Camp Morton, Indiana; and Camp Chase, Ohio; and at the Depot of Prisoners of War, on Johnson's Island; and to arm those prisoners with the arms thus seized; that then said conspirators, with all the force they were able to raise from the secret order above named, were, in conjunction with the rebel prisoners thus released and armed, to march into Kentucky, and co-operate with the rebel forces to be sent to that State by the rebel authorities, against the Government and authorities of the United States. This on or about the 20th day of July, 1864, at or near the city of Chicago, Illinois.

CHARGE SECOND.—Affording Aid and Comfort to Rebels Against the Authority of the United States.

Specification First.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd, being then a member of a certain secret society, o order, known as the Order of the American Knights, o

Order of Sons of Liberty, the United States then being in arms to suppress a rebellion in certain States against the authority of the United States, and said Dodd, then and there acting as a member and Grand Commander, so styled, of said secret society or order, did design and plot to communicate with the enemies of the United States, and did communicate with the enemies of the United States, with the intent that they should, in large force, invade the territory of the United States, to-wit, the States of Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, with the further intent that the so-called secret society, or order aforesaid, should then and there co-operate with the said armed forces of the said rebellion against the authority of the United States. This at or near Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

Specification Second.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd, while the Government of the United States was attempting by force of arms to suppress an existing rebellion, and while guerrillas and other armed supporters of said rebellion, were in the State of Kentucky, did send a messenger—then a brother member with him of a secret society or order, known as the Order of American Knights or Sons of Liberty—into said State of Kentucky, with instructions for J. F. Bullitt, Grand Commander of said secret society or order in said State, and other members of said secret society or order in said State, to select good couriers or runners, to go upon short notice, and for the purpose of assisting those in rebellion against the United States, to call to arms the members of said secret society or order, and other sympathizers with the existing rebellion, whenever a signal should be given by the authorities of the said secret society or order. This at or near Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

Specification Third.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd, during an existing rebellion against the authority of the United States, he knowing that in Kentucky there were various armed forces in the interest of said rebellion,

and that said State was in constant danger of invasion by further rebel forces, did attempt therein to organize and extend a secret society or order, known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of Sons of Liberty, having for its object to aid and assist said rebellion, and to treat the United States Government, in its efforts to suppress said rebellion, as a usurpation. This at or near Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

Specification Fourth.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd, being a citizen of the State of Indiana, United States of America, owing true allegiance to the said United States, did join himself to a certain secret society or order, known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of Sons of Liberty, the object of which society or order was hostile to, and designed for the overthrow of, the Government of the United States, and to compel terms with the citizens or authorities of the so-called Confederate States, the same being portions of the United States in rebellion against the authority of the United States, and did communicate the designs and intent of said order to those in rebellion against the Government of the United States. This at or near Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

CHARGE THIRD.—Inciting Insurrection.

Specification First.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd did, during a time of war between the United States and armed enemies of the United States, organize, and attempt to arm, a portion of the citizens of the United States, through a secret society or order, known as the American Knights, or Order of Sons of Liberty, with the intent to induce them, with him, to throw off the authority of the United States, and co-operate with an armed insurrection, then existing against the legally constituted authorities of the United States. This at or near Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

Specification Second.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd did, by public addresses, and by secret circulars and communications, and by other means, endeavor to

and did arouse sentiments of hostility to the Government of the United States, and did endeavor to induce the people openly to revolt against the Government, and to secretly arm and organize themselves, for the purpose of resisting the laws of the United States and the orders of the duly elected President thereof. This at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of February, 1864.

CHARGE FOURTH.—Disloyal Practices.

Specification First.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd, during an armed rebellion against the legally constituted authorities and Government of the United States, did counsel and advise citizens of, and owing allegiancs and Military service to the United States, to disregard the authority of the United States, and to resist a call or draft, designed to increase the armies of the United States. This at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

Specification Second.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd did accept and hold the Office of Grand Commander, or Commander-in-Chief, of the Military forces, for the State of Indiana, in a certain secret society or order, known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of Sons of Liberty, which said officer and order were unknown to the Constitution or Laws of the United States, and were not in aid of, but opposed to, the constituted legal authorities therof. This at or near the city of Indiadapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th of February. 1864.

Specification Third.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd did appoint, and aid to appoint, and did recognize, within the State of Indiana, and within the jurisdiction of the United States, and while acting as Grand Commander, or Commander-in-Chief, of certain Military forces, in the State of Indiana, a certain secret society or order, known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of Sons of Liberty, certain persons by the title and grade of Major General, the same being unknown to the Military Laws of the United States, or to the Military Laws of the

State of Indiana, and did treat and accredit them as such, subordinate to him as Grand Commander, for the purpose of creating and perfecting a military organization within the United States, hostile to, and designed to overthrow, the Government and the legally constituted authorities of the United States. This at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

Specification Fourth.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd did, while assuming to act as Grand Commander, or Commander-in-Chief, of certain Military forces in the State of Indiana, and within the jurisdiction of the United States, of a certain order, known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of Sons of Liberty, recognize as the highest Military authority in the United States an officer unknown to the Constitution and Laws of the United States, styled Supreme Commander, or Commander-in Chief of all military forces belonging to the order in the various States, for the United States, said officer being recognized by said Dodd as clothed with authority over all the military forces of said order within the United States when called into active service, and holding his, the said Dodd's obligation of obedience to said Supreme Commander to be absolute and unlimited, and paramount to the laws of the land, or orders emanating from the authorities or President of the United States. This at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 17th day of February, 1864.

Specification Fifth.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd did attempt to prevent the further enlistment of citizens in the armies of the United States, declaring the Government thereof to be a usurpation, and to be expelled by force of arms; and did take, and cause other citizens to take, a solemn oath, inconsistent with and in violation of their duties as citizens of the United States, and did attempt to arm certain disloyal citizens of the United States, for the purpose of resisting the laws and duly constituted authorities of the United States, and for the purpose of establishing, or assisting to establish, a sepa-

rate and independent government within the limits of the United States. This at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 17th day of February, 1864.

CHARGE FIFTH.—Violation of the Laws of War.

Specification First.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd did, while the United States were carrying on war against the enemies of the United States, and while pretending to be a peaceable, loyal citizen of the United States, violate his allegiance and duty as a citizen of said Government, and did attempt to introduce said armed enemies of the United States into the loyal States of the United States, thereby to overthrow and destroy the authority of the United States. This at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, 1864.

Specification Second.—In this, that the said Harrison H. Dodd did, during a war between the United States and the enemies of the United States, and while pretending to be a peaceable, loyal citizen of the United States, organize and extend a certain secret society or order, known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of Sons of Liberty, having for its purpose the same general object and design of the said enemies of the United States, and with the intent to aid and insure the success of said enemies in their resistance to the legally constituted authorities of the United States. This at or near the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, on or about the 16th day of May, '64.

To which Charges and Specifications, to all and severally, the accused pleaded NOT GUILTY.

CHAPTER XIII.

FIRST WITNESS CALLED; OTHER WITNESSES; GENERAL HOVEY WARNED AGAINST DODD'S ESCAPE; DODD'S ESCAPE; SUMMARY OF THE TESTIMONY; EXTRACTS OF ADDRESSES BY COUNSEL; TRIAL OF OTHER PRISONERS; HEFFREN TURNS STATES EVIDENCE; EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS OF JUDGE ADVOCATE.

Through the entire proceedings so far Dodd had main-

tained his usual jovial, good natured expressions. Immediately the plea of "Not Guilty" was made the first witness in the case was called; FELIX G. STIDGER. At the calling of my name by the Judge Advocate Dodd turned a deathly pale, or white, and as I approached the witness' chair he stared at me in bewildered surprise, as though he found it difficult to believe his own sense of sight and hearing. So well had I guarded my actions, conduct, and conferences with him that this was the first thought of suspicion that had ever appeared to him that I was not a co-conspirator with him; and he saw now, for the first time, the source of what-ever evidence and information the Government had against them, and *knew* it was complete and correct; and that with my identification of the conspirators the Government would obtain an abundance of corroborative testimony, sufficient to hang all of those tried. I occupied the witness stand two days.

The Government then produced evidence as follows: September 27th and 28th, Stidger; 29th no sesion; 30th, A. M., Stidger, George E. Pugh, Joseph Kirkpatrick; P. M., William Clayton; intermission until October 5th; Clayton, Wesley Tranter; 6th, Tranter, Elliott Robertson. During the entire time of Dodd's confinement in the Post Office Building there had been no guard in his room, and no guard on the street outside, but only a guard in the hall to watch the doors of the two rooms to see that neither prisoner escaped in that way, with the wives of both prisoners having free admission to their husband's rooms without search or restraint, and at their will. During the session of the Commission on Thursday, October 6th, Brevet Major General Hovey visited the court room, and the Judge Advocate notified General Hovey that the case against Dodd was so serious that he feared Dodd would make an attempt to escape, which could be easily accomplished under present conditions, there being no guard either in his room nor on the street below his window, neither during the day or at night, and asked that a guard be placed either in the room with Dodd, or on the street

below. General Hovey seeming to take but little or no interest in the matter the Judge Advocate, after the adjournment of the Commission for the day, made a written statement as to the inefficiency of a guard outside the rooms, and in the hall only, where he could neither see or know what was taking place in the room, with a request that a guard be placed, either in the room with Dodd, or on the street beneath the windows looking from Dodd's room, as he considered such a precaution absolutely necessary to prevent the escape of Dodd; which statement and request the Judge Advocate sent by a special personal messenger, that he might know that it was placed into the hands of General Hovey himself. This information I obtained from the Judge Advocate himself, who that evening told some of the Officers of the Commission, in my presence and hearing of the precautions he had considered it necessary to, and had taken, to prevent the escape of Dodd.

Friday morning, October 7th, when the Commission convened at 8-30 o'clock the Judge Advocate reported to the Commission that Dodd would not be present, as he had escaped. The report of Colonel A. J. Warner, Commander of the Post at Indianapolis, showed that Dodd had made his escape from his room in the third story of the Post Office Building; that he had made his escape by means of a large rope that had been furnished to him by some one on the street below his window, to which a small cord had been attached, which small cord had been furnished to Dodd in his room, and by him lowered from the window of his room to the street for attaching to the rope; that said rope after being drawn up to Dodd's room by the cord had been attached to an iron rod, and the iron rod fastened between the bed in Dodd's room and the iron window shutter, Dodd sliding down the rope, and making his escape without detection, so far as known. So ended the *"trial"* of Dodd.

In the evidence at Dodd's trial I had been the only witness to personnally identify Dodd as being in any way

connected with the treasonable organization of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and the *Working Head of the Order.* Of the other five witnesses presented by the Government before the escape of Dodd, the first one, George E. Pugh of Cincinnati, was examined only as to the identification of the handwriting and signature of Clement L. Vallandigham of several documents in the possession of the Government which it was desired to file in the trial, all of which Mr. Pugh identified to be in the handwriting and signatures of Vallandigham, and they were all filed in the case. The next witness, Joseph Kirkpatrick, No. 1 Park Place, New York City, testified to the sale of two hundred and ninety revolvers and 135,000 pistol cartridges in New York City to L. Harris, (supposedly Major General John C. Walker,) the cases containing which were marked by Harris to J. J. Parsons, Indianapolis, Indiana, and were so shipped. The whole was paid for by Harris, and Mr. Kirkpatrick testified that L. Harris and H. H. Dodd were not the same man. Elliott Robertson of Randolph County, Indiana, a farmer, had been a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle and of the American Knights in 1863, knew but little about the Order, and did not know Dodd, or that he was the head of the Order in Indiana. Wesley Tranter, of Shoals, Martin County, Indiana, had joined the Circle of Honor in the spring of 1863, and the Knights of the Golden Circle, was given what was called the "Morgan Signs," or signs of the Vestibule Degree, and was sworn into Jeff. Davis' service, to support him North or South; was told by the members that H. H. Dodd was connected with the organization; that Governor Morton was to be put out of the way, and Dodd was to be the Governor of the State in Morton's place; he had no information of the Order since January, 1864. William Clayton of Roseville Township, Warren County, Illinois, a farmer, joined the Knights of the Golden Circle in Jefferson County in 1862, the American Knights in 1863, and had taken the three Degrees of the Order of Sons of Liberty; and was a very reluctant witness until he was

informed by the Judge Advocate that he would have to testify or go to prison. He had been brought from Illinois in charge of the Provost Marshal; he had a copy of the Ritual in his possession, and identified the obligations of the Order; had taken the Third Degree in March, 1864, and had met with the Order until September 15th. It was organized as a Military Order, designing to overthrow the United States Government; had been drilling for a year, and about two-thirds of the members were armed. The Order numbered 100,000 members in Illinois, and that 80,000 could be depended upon for an uprising; in Indiana the Order had 80,000 members, and in Missouri between 30,000 and 40,000 members. The Order is not doing much business in Illinois now on account of the exposure of the Order in Indiana.

It will be seen from the testimony of these witnesses that only one of them had ever even heard of Dodd, and that he could not identify Dodd as having any connection with the Order, but their evidence did corroborate the evidence of the existence of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and of its treasonable designs and intentions.

Extracts from the Arguments of Counsel in the Conspiracy Trial of H. H. Dood, at Indianapolis, October 17th, 1864.

In the address of Martin M. Ray made to the Military Commission after the escape of Dodd the following passages occur in his reviewing the evidence, in mitigation of the sentence to be passed by the Commission against Dodd:

"In approaching the evidence of the case we are almost subdued and awed into silence by considering the perilous precipice on which society in the North-West so lately hung, if the testimony, in the plenitude of its details, or even in its general scope, is to be believed." * * * "To deny that the defendant was a member of a secret political society of the name charged would be to ask the Commission to discredit the only corroborated testimony in the case; so it may be accepted as true that there was such a society, and that the defendant was a member,

and the head of the organization in this State." * * * "Charge one, Specification four rests, not upon the supposed treasonable organization of the Order, but upon extrinsic testimony of particular facts, consisting of admissions and communications made by the defendant to a Government Detective by the name of Stidger. If this witness' testimony is to be taken without any deduction it would convict the defendant of a willingness to commit murder, as well as treason. The witness appears to be an intelligent and accomplished detective, and all the more dangerous on that account, unless strictly honest and impartial." * * * "If the Commission finds the defendant guilty on this Specification it will be by giving full force and credit to the witness Stidger." * * * "Stidger's accomplishments as a Detective are only equaled by his accomplishments as a witness—he is both artistic and esthetical in each character, and I am inclined to think, without an amateur."

The closing of the address of the Judge Advocate to the Military Commission in the trial of Dodd was as follows:

"I wish to say a few words with respect to the witness Stidger. No member of this Commission, and I think I may say that no person that sat in this hall, who did not believe that the witness testified to the truth. If he had not testified to the truth, he was a witness who could more easily have been convicted of falsehood than any one brought upon the stand. There was not a fact to which he testified, for which he did not give the place, date, and person. When a witness does that, every lawyer knows that you can trace up that man's history in his cross-examination. If Stidger had not met Bowles or Heffren at the times and places he mentions, and have the conversations narrated, it would be easy to show that they were elsewhere at the time. If he did not meet Dodd and talk with him, at the time and place he says he did, how easily it could be refuted! When Stidger came upon the stand, he expected that he was to be met by every possible proof that could be brought against [illegible] This witness testified

that when he entered into this organization, it was with the express intent and determination to develop its end and purposes. True, he was a Government Secret Service Agent; he states that he was so hired and employed; and I believe that such a work could be engaged in and accomplished with a good intent and purpose. It is a species of strategy fully justified by the circumstances of the case, and is not unlike that to which our commanding Generals in the field often resort in their efforts to deceive the enemy. They send false messages, write and forward false missives, on purpose to mislead them. They employ every means in their power to induce them to believe in and rely upon a certain state of things the opposite of that which really exists.

Stidger engaged in the work of revealing the designs of this treasonable organization, with the express purpose of giving information to the Government, and saving bloodshed, and possibly National disaster. Such a man, engaged in such a cause, and for such a purpose, cannot be called an accomplice. On the contrary, he perils his life to obtain facts, which have proved to be of the greatest importance to the Government, and to the cause of justice, law and order.

In such a cause, every man, loyal and true to his Government, will stand by him; and it ill becomes any man, especially in the States of Indiana, Illinois, or Kentucky, to withhold that meed of praise which is justly his due for the services he has rendered to the Government.

I am content to leave the case in your hands, after simply quoting the opening remarks of the Counsel of the defense who last addressed you. 'In approaching the evidence in the case, we are almost subdued and awed into silence by considering the perilous precipice upon which society, especially in the North-West, so recently hung, if the testimony, in the plenitude of its details, or even in its general scope, is to be believed.' Respecting that testimony, this Commission is abundantly able to judge. If this testimony is to be believed, this Government was

on the brink of a precipice; and the evidence given upon this stand, under the solemnity of an oath, and with the eye of Almighty God resting on each witness, is of such a character that no argument of counsel, or finely drawn sophistries, can change the perilous and treasonable nature of the circumstances testified to." *

SENTENCE OF HARRISON H. DODD.

After the delivery of the Addresses of Counsel in the case of Harrison H. Dodd, and due deliberation by the Military Commission the Commission found the accused Guilty on the Charges and Specifications, and rendered the following Sentence: *"To be hanged by the neck until he be dead, at such time and place as the Commanding General of this District shall designate; two-thirds of the members of the Commission concurring therein."*

After I returned to my home in Mattoon, Illinois, about the first of December I made a detailed report to Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt, at Washington, D. C., of the manner of Dodd's escape, which will be referred to in the next chapter. In this report I urged upon Judge Advocate General Holt the importance of the fulfillment of the severest penalty that the Military Commission should impose, referring him to the statement of Bullitt when he was arrested; that "should he be arrested others could carry out the designs of the Order and release him," and that, should these men be only imprisoned that there would be others to take up the work of the Order and carry out its designs; while, if the severest penalty of the law should be inflicted upon them that it would deter others from coming forward and taking the chances of the severest punishment known to the law.

*FOOT-NOTE BY BENN PITMAN, U. S. GOVERNMENT STENOGRAPHIC REPORTER: "The admirable manner in which Mr. Stidger acted the part of a United States Secret Service Agent, was shown by the fact, that up to the moment of his appearance as a witness, the accused had no suspicion of his being other than a co-conspirator. At the instant of Stidger's appearance on the witness stand Dodd stared at him in bewidered surprise, as though he found it difficult to admit the evidence of his own senses."

LETTER FROM MILLIGAN TO DODD.

HUNTINGTON, Ind., 9th May, 1864.

Gen. H. H. DODD—*Dear Sir:* Yours of the 2nd inst. came when I was absent at Notre Dame, and I have now just read it, and am unable to make any definite reply. I will barely allude to what may afford a text for reply in future.

As to the Gubernatorial question, it may not have occurred to you the unenviable connection in which my name has been used. It was announced in consequence of the declination of the Hon. J. E. McDonald to be a candidate, conceding that if he was a candidate there was no desire to use my name; now I understand he *is;* hence I am not called upon by any public notice to be such. But waiving all this as the result of mere accident, and not proffered as an indignity to me, by placing me second in talents and patriotism to J. E. McDonald, there is a still more grave difficulty in the way. The announcement of my name for Governor was made by McDonald's friends. Now it is due to them that I should decline, because I could not represent them; there is no similarity between us. And all this is not so discouraging as the fact that men of the stamp of Judge Hanna, whose profession of principles I could represent, prefer McDonald on account of his supposed availability, it detracts much from my confidence in our ultimate success. When men of so much seeming patriotism are willing for mere temporary purposes to abandon the great principles of civil liberty, what will those of less pretensions do when the real contest comes, when life and property all depend on the issue, when bullets instead of ballots are cast, and when the *halter* is a preamble to our platform? For unless Federal encroachments are arrested in the States by the effort as well of the legislators as the executive then will our *lives* and *fortunes* follow where our honors will have gone before.

I am willing to do whatever the cause of the North-west may require, or its true friends may think proper, but I am as well convinced that upon mature reflection they will not ask me to obtrude myself upon the public, nor will they ask me to be McDonald's contingent.

I have great confidence in your good hard man *sense*, and cool judgment, hence I find it difficult to disregard your advice in the matter, and before giving to the world my position on the question I wish to see you personally. Yours truly,

L. P. MILLIGAN.

N. B. My last was confidential; this is more so, because I have given vent to feelings that are purely private.

L. P. MILLIGAN.

CHAPTER XIV.

BEN. M. ANDERSON RETURNED TO UNITED STATES; ARRESTED, TRIED IN CINCINNATI, AND COMMITTED SUICIDE; TESTIFIED BEFORE KENTUCKY LEGISLATURE IN TRIAL OF BULLITT; OTHER TESTIMONY BEFORE KENTUCKY LEGISLATURE.

The trial of Horace Heffren, William A. Bowles, Lambdin P. Milligan, Andrew Humphreys, and Stephen Horsey, before the United States Military Commission, as constituted at the time of the escape of Dodd. They were tried on the same charges as Dodd, but the Judge Advocate had learned enough of the evidence that could be produced to enable him to form the Specifications, while practically similar to those against Dodd, yet they were formed so as to permit the introduction of a wider range of testimony.

Their trial began October 21st, 1864, continuing to, and the evidence closing on, Thursday, December 1st, when the Commission adjourned until Tuesday, December 6th, at which time the arguments of counsel were begun, which consumed several days, when sentence was rendered, and the Military Commission dissolved.

Of those arrested, William M. Harrison, being a salaried man, and working altogether under the directions and orders of Grand Commander Dodd, was released from arrest, and used as a witness against the Deputy Grand Commander Horace Heffren, Major Generals William A. Bowles, and Lambdin P. Milligan, Brigadier General Andrew Humphreys, and Stephen Horsey; and on Friday, November 4th, Heffren having become satisfied that the result of the trial was bound to be against them, had sought, and obtained, an interview with General Hovey, and had made arrangements with the General by which the charges against him should be withdrawn, and he to go on the stand as a witness in his own behalf. The evidence had been positive and conclusive against Heffren, and he gave no evidence while on the witness stand that in any way benefitted the Government, but principally

denials of all knowledge on his part of the evidence that had been given against him by several witnesses, and thereby securing for himself immunity from conviction and punishment. I must state that I could never understand why Heffren was permitted to go on the witness stand and give positively false testimony, when the facts presented by witnesses for the Government had been so completely and positively against him; and that evidence not of only one witness, but had been strongly corroborated by several other witnesses entirely unknown to each-other.

In the address of John B. Goffroth for Milligan, prepared by Milligan, is the following paragraph: "In relation that the Order proposed that Camps Morton, Douglas, etc., were to be emptied of their prisoners. From the evidence, if it was agreed to at all, it was simply a proposition of Dodd's; or if you choose to give it the latitude claimed by that 'mud sill' of infamy, who after being on joint trial for three weeks, turned informer in order to purchase his own release, illustrating the truth of the adage that 'it is always the biggest scoundrel that turns States evidence';—of that creature—but I will not speak of him; contempt has the property of descending very low, but to even that there is a limit, and it therefore stops far short of Horace Heffren." "Let Heffren pass —room for the leper, room."

Extracts from the closing address of the Judge Advocate to the Military Commission in the trial of Bowles, Milligan, Humphreys, Heffren, and Horsey, at Indianapolis in December, 1864.

"It has been proved beyond question that a conspiracy, more extensive, more perfect in its organization, and more damnable in its designs, never was concocted nor brought into existence under any Government since Governments were first instituted. It has been proved that these parties now on trial were members of that conspiracy; all, excepting one, (Horsey,) holding military positions in this organization; that this conspiracy existed in

almost every town and county in the State; and not only in this State, but in the States of Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, and Ohio; that it was thoroughly organized, and partially armed; that all the objects contemplated by the Order were illegal, treasonable and damnable." "Public opinion, that power which Talleyrand declared to Napoleon was more omnipotent than he and all his armies, has indorsed the necessity for these arrests, and the trial of these parties." "The cold-blooded villainy of the schemes that these men diliberately discussed in their councils, and proceeded, with premeditation and deliberation to execute, appalled and shocked the moral sense not only of this entire Nation, but of the whole civilized World."

"On no single point have the accused attempted to rebut or disprove the statements of Mr. Stidger; they have not dared to do so; nor have they questioned the probity of any of Mr. Stidger's statements, but have indulged in bitter, unworthy vituperation against him. Bocking in his evidence corroborates the statements of Stidger as to the meeting in the Louisville Hotel of June 28th for the purpose of exhibiting the Greek Fire, shells, etc., and of his (Bocking,) having received $200.00 at that time from members of this Order."

"Over the doors of its Temples should be inscribed the same maxim that the Roman people used as to their own city, in the days of the Inquisition:

'*Vivere qui sancte vultis discedite Roma,*
Omnia hic esse licent non licet esse probum!'

'He who would live holily, depart from Rome,
All things are allowed here except to be upright.'

All things were allowed in these Temples, except to be loyal, true, faithful to the mother who had cherished and nourished them; that dearest mother, our beloved country."

"The evidence of Mr. Stidger stands unimpeached, and uncontradicted; and I here venture to say that no witness ever came upon the witness-stand and testified to so many distinct facts, dates, places, and persons—every word being recorded as he stated it—that has been more tri-

umphantly corroborated by all the different witnesses that have testified than Mr. Stidger. While every effort has been made by the defense to break in upon the strength of his testimony, to find some slight variations upon which to base a probability of mistake; yet in every instance the subsequent proof, and the investigation of the facts, have all shown that Stidger was exactly right, and truthful; and triumphantly illustrates the old adage, 'Truth is ever consistent.'"

"I desire to call the attention of the Commission to the kind of evidence submitted on behalf of the Government in these cases. Much has been said by the counsel for the accused, in the attempt to bring into disrepute the witnesses of the Government, styling them as spies, detectives, and informers. Out of the twenty-eight (28,) witnesses introduced by the Government there were just two (2,) who were, as the counsel styles them, spies, or detectives. These were Stidger and Zumro.* All the other witnesses stood in exactly the same relation to the case as the witnesses introduced by the defense; some of them being members of the Order; some of them had been arrested and released. Why they should be followed by such malignity, hatred, and abuse, I cannot conceive. It is not pretended that they swore falsely, or from malice, or hope of reward. They told simply what they were compelled to tell—the truth, and the whole truth, and this, perhaps, is why they hate them."

"Rather would not the counsel stood in more enviable light had they stood by, and encouraged, by giving the just meed of praise to the one who had the courage and manliness to stand by his Government, and done his part in bringing to just punishment those who sought to destroy it. Think for a moment of the position in which the Government was placed, and the difficulties and almost insurmountable obstacles to be overcome in getting

*Doctor Zumro identified but one of the prisoners (Milligan,) as a member of the Order, and knew nothing whatever about any of the others, except from hear-say; which in law is not evidence.

at the secrets of this oath-bound secret organization, when he who would publish its secrets periled his life in the act. We have given you the evidence of a man who went into the organization for the purpose of revealing its designs to the Government; we have added to him those who were among you and of you, and thus out of your own mouths we have made the proof against you."

The findings of the Commission were "Guilty." Andrew Humphreys was sentenced to imprisonment for life; for which sentence the Commanding General of the District, Brevet Major General Alvin P. Hovey, substituted the sentence of "confinement within the boundaries of two townships in his own (Humphreys,) County."

Bowles, Milligan, and Horsey were sentenced *"To be hanged by the neck until they be dead, at such time and place as the Commanding General of this District shall designate; two-thirds of the members of the Commission concurring therein."* The Order for the carrying out of the sentence fixed the date of execution to be Friday, May 19th, 1865, the hours to be between 12 o'clock M. and 3 o'clock P. M.

The gallows to carry out the sentence of the three to be hanged was built in Indianapolis by rebel prisoners taken from Camp Morton. May 16th, 1865, President Andrew Johnson commuted the sentence of Stephen Horsey from that of death by hanging to a sentence of imprisonment for life in the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio; and the sentence of execution for William A. Bowles and Lambdin P. Milligan the time was extended by President Johnson from May 19th, 1865, to June 2nd, 1865.

May 30th, 1865, President Andrew Johnson, at 9:30 o'clock P. M., by secret cipher, and "strictly confidential" to General Hovey at Indianapolis commuted the sentences of Bowles and Milligan to imprisonment for life in the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio; which confidential secret dispatch was received by General Hovey at 12 o'clock M., May 31st, 1865, and the prisoners were delivered to the prison at Columbus June 2nd, 1865. The war being

ended all three of the prisoners were released from the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, June 10th, 1866, at 4:50 o'clock, P. M.

After the dissolving of the Military Commission in Indianapolis I returned to my home in Mattoon, Illinois, where I made it my first duty to make to Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt at Washington, D. C., a full and detailed report of the circumstances under which Harrison H. Dodd had effected his escape during his trial in Indianapolis; stating to him that I did not want him to rely wholly on my reports for the facts in the case, as there were Military Officers of high rank who knew the circumstances as well as I did, but that they would not make report to him, or to the Honorable Secretary of War until they learned that he was in possession of the facts in detail; while, if he would question them as to those facts they would then dare not refuse to give him the facts of their own personal knowledge; which report occupied eleven pages of large size letter paper. That report was furnished by Judge Advocate General Holt to the Honorable Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and was made the basis by him of a passage of an Official Letter to a High Officer in a Military Command, in which he stated, that my services in the breaking up in Indiana, Kentucky, and Illinois, of the treasonable organization of the Order of Sons of Liberty had been worth as much to him as any battle that had been fought during the war.

After the arrest and trials in Indiana the Order of Sons of Liberty had become thoroughly demoralized and broken up in the States of Indiana and Kentucky, but as the State of Illinois had not been in the field of my work the Government had not seemed to be successful in entirely throttling the monster of treason in that State, and after quiet had been somewhat restored the members of the Order in and around Chicago began to devise new means for releasing the rebel prisoners in that city and at Rock Island. The Confederate Colonel Ben. M. Anderson, who

had broken his parole and gone from Kentucky into Canada, but had abandoned the idea of going back to the Confederacy and taking up the command of his regiment, on learning that a nucleus of the old Order of Sons of Liberty had been established in Chicago, he, together with a small band composed of refugees that had been in hiding in Canada for months came to Chicago about the first of November 1864 and allied themselves with this Chicago nucleus, with the result, that he (Anderson,) and other leaders were arrested, and sent to Cincinnati, Ohio, for trial before a Military Commission or Court Martial.

The first part of January 1865 I returned to Indianapolis with the intention of living there. The latter part of April 1865 I was telegraphed to come to Cincinnati as a witness in the trial of Ben. M. Anderson, and after I had given my testimony Anderson became very much depressed, and three or four days afterward, while taking exercise, under guard, in the hall of the prison, he watched for an opportunity and snatched a revolver from the belt of the guard, and before he could be prevented, shot himself, killing himself almost instantly.

In February, 1865, I was telegraphed to come to Frankfort, Kentucky, to testify before a Committee of the Kentucky State Legislature appointed to inquire as to Judge Joshua F. Bullitt's connection with the treasonable organization, the Order of Sons of Liberty; and on the report of that Committee I was again summoned to Frankfort the latter part of May to give evidence before the House of Representatives of the Kentucky State Legislature in impeachment of Judge Bullitt. Bullitt was then residing in Canada, but was offered by the United States Government immunity from arrest, and protection by the United States Government, if he wished to come from Canada to Frankfort to defend himself before the Legislature, and a guarantee from the Government that he would be allowed to return, unmolested, to Canada when the trial in Frankfort had ended; but he declined to accept the proffered protection, saying that, "he had enough of Stidger, and

did not care to place himself in his (Stidger's,) clutches any more." The Legislature dallied along with the trial in attempting to get witnesses to impeach my evidence, for a week or more, without finding a single witness that knew me that would impeach my testimony, and finally, though the Legislature was to a great extent composed of an intensely disloyal membership, expelled Joshua F. Bullitt from his high Office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky.

The following evidence of Felix G. Stidger, Captain Stephen E. Jones, and Doctor William M. Allen, (Allen a member of the Kentucky House of Representatives, Session of 1865,) was taken from the Official Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Kentucky State Legislature of 1865:

Page 364, Proceedings Kentucky House of Representatives, 1865, Colonel Geo. T. Wood, Ed. F. Dulin, J. H. Lowry, J. T. Bramlette, and R. J. Browne, were on February 4th, 1865, appointed a Committee to investigate certain charges that had been brought to the notice of the Governor of the State of Kentucky against the Hon. Joshua F. Bullitt, Chief Justice of the Appellate Court of the State. I was called before this Committee to testify. Page 635, February 27th, this Committee reported as follows: The testimony strongly conduces to show that Judge Joshua F. Bullitt was, early in the summer of 1864, a member of, and prominent Officer in, the organization or society commonly called the "Sons of Liberty." That that organization was a secret one, with secret Rituals, By-Laws, rules, pass-words, symbols, etc., known and understood only by the initiated; and that the purposes, objects and aims of the organization were, and are of a treasonable character—being against the suppression of the rebellion now existing, and intended to aid in the overthrow of the Government of the United States, and to encourage lawlessness and anarchy in the country.

On the adoption of this report the following extracts from the testimony as given before the House of Repre-

sentatives of the State of Kentucky, 1865: Journal of House of Representatives, State of Kentucky, pages 781-84, and printed in proceedings of May, 18th, 1865.

(This evidence was given before the full body of the House of Representatives of Kentucky in Frankfort, Kentucky, in May, 1865; former testimony having been given before the Special Committe of the House.)

FELIX G. STIDGER, being duly sworn, states:—I am acquainted with Hon. Joshua F. Bullitt. I know of the existence of an Order the "Sons of Liberty;" was a member of that Order, and Grand Secretary of the Order for the State of Kentucky. The objects and aims of the Order were for the seizure of United States Arsenals, releasing of rebel prisoners confined in Northern prisons, and the members of the Order to act in conjunction with those prisoners in aiding the Southern Armies to invade and permanently hold Kentucky and Missouri, and the general destruction of Government property, for the destruction of which property they were to receive from the Southern Confederacy 10 per cent. of the value of the property destroyed, as estimated by Northern newspapers. The Order also courted the assistance of guerrillas. There were Confederate Officers and guerrillas initiated into the Order. There was a meeting of the leaders of the Order held at Chicago on July 21st, 1864. Judge Bullitt told me on the night of the 18th of July, 1864, that he was going to Chicago to attend that meeting, and that if they did not agree at that meeting on some definite plan and time of action against the United States Government, that he'd "be d-m—d if he didn't go to work in Kentucky on his own hook." He afterward told me that he was at that meeting, and that there was a plan arranged; and H. H. Dodd told me that he was at that meeting at Chicago as Grand Commander of the Order for the State of Indiana, and that the plans were all arranged, except as to the exact date, which was, whether they should fix a time themselves, or wait until they could receive assistance from the Confederate forces and guer-

las. Judge Bullitt on the night of the 18th of July, 364, instructed Joseph Kern, in my presence, to go to e rebel Colonel Sypert, then commanding a guerrilla rce near Henderson, Kentucky, and consult with him to when he could best co-operate with him (Bullitt,) in e taking of Louisville; and also to see if he could not ssibly procure a personal interview between the rebel olonel Jesse and himself (Bullitt,) with the same view, d for the same purpose. The first interview I ever had th Judge Bullitt was in relation to the business of this der on May 31st, 1864. I was requested by Doctor owles to convey a communication from him to Judge llitt. Bowles told me that Bullitt, Dodd, Humphreys, nself, (Bowles,) and Barrett of Illinois, had had a conrence in Indianapolis, in which they had wanted Humreys to take the position of a Brigadier General and otect the rear. Bowles had again seen Humphreys d Humphreys had consented to do so. After giving is communication to Bullitt in the continuance of our nversation, in speaking of Union men Bullitt remarked, at he had spent a good-deal of money in this thing, and as willing to spend all he had; that he "hoped to soon able to steal a good living from the d-m—d s-ns of c—s." In saying that Judge Bullitt was "Grand Comander" of the Order, I mean that he was Commander-Chief of the forces of the Order in Kentucky when lled into service, just as the Governor is Commander the Militia of the State when in active service, and can ll them into service at any time. The Order in Kencky was not armed as an Order, but the members were ged to arm themselves, and were generally armed. All e time I was working with the Order of Sons of Liberty vas a United States Detective, first employed by Capin Stephen E. Jones, Provost Marshal General of the ilitary District of Kentucky, to learn the facts with rerd to the Order. The Order cared nothing about restance to the draft, as they did not intend to await their erations until the draft took place. I initiated men who

were not members of the Order, but I initiated no-one except those to whom I was sent by Judge Bullitt, or other members of the Order, or those brought to me and properly vouched for by those I knew to be members of the Order. F. G. STIDGER.

Page 785 of same volume the following extract is taken from the testimony of Captain Stephen E. Jones, United States Provost Marshal General for the Military District of Kentucky. Captain STEPHEN E. JONES, being duly sworn states:—I am acquainted with Felix G. Stidger. When I first had an intimation of the existence of the organization of the Order of Sons of Liberty, and determined to ascertain, if possible, the objects and purposes of the Order, I cast about me to find a suitable person to employ in the work of gaining this information. I rejected the services of all regular detectives who were at that time reporting to me—both professional detectives and military police—for the reason; In the employment of professional detectives I had found them uniformly corrupt and unreliable. I had been favorably impressed with Stidger's appearance and with Terrell's recommendation of him, and asked him to undertake to ferret out the matter. My instructions to him were to secure his admission into the Order in as high a position as he could attain to; to make no effort to get any-other party into it, but simply to report what he saw and heard. He reported to me until I was relieved as Provost Marshal General of Kentucky, when I turned over all the reports received to Colonel Thomas B. Fairleigh, then Commanding the Post at Louisville, and directed Stidger to report to him. As a protection to Stidger himself, believing that his life would be endangered if the suspicions as to the objects of the Order were true if his position became known to the members of the Order, I employed no other detective in this business, and acquainted no-one with his duties, and could only judge of the truthfulness of his reports by their consistency, one with another, and the internal evidences which they furnished themselves. His reports

lacked the style of exaggeration, and the evidence of a desire to magnify his office usually found in reports of that class. For that reason, while there was but little to corroborate them from facts ascertained outside, I was inclined to believe them strictly reliable and true. From my knowledge of him, I regard him as entirely reliable in all his statements of facts. STEPHEN E. JONES.

Page 786 of same volume the following is *verbatim* as given in the report of the Committee, Doctor William M. Allen being a member of the House of Representatives, State of Kentucky at that session of the Legislature:

DR. WM. M. ALLEN, being duly sworn, states:—I am acquainted with F. G.Stidger; have known him from his boyhood; am acquainted with his general moral character; it has always been good. I never heard anything against him. He was remarkable as a boy for his freedom from those smaller vices which boys usually indulge in. I have known nothing of him since the breaking out of the rebellion. I knew him from boyhood to about the time he was grown; I lived for a part of the time in the same county with him, and a part in an adjoining county. From my knowledge of his general character I have no hesitancy in believing his statements entitled to full credit, whether on oath or otherwise. W. M. ALLEN.

Page 927, May 31st, 1865; The House of Representatives of the State of Kentucky is the following:

To the Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives each concurring herein,) request your Excellency to remove the Hon. Joshua F. Bullitt, one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals, from his said Office, for the following reasons: That the said Bullitt has vacated his said Office by absenting himself from the sittings of said Court, and from this State, and having taken up his residence within the territory of a foreign government.

Page 944, May 31st, 1865: A message was received in the House from the Senate announcing that the Senate

had concurred in the Address requesting the Governor (of Kentucky) to remove from Office the Hon. Joshua F. Bullitt, one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals of this Commonwealth." Bullitt was *removed* from his Office of Chief Justice of the Appellate Court of the State of Kentucky by Governor Thomas E. Bramlette in compliance with the foregoing Address.

Bullitt, as I have before stated, had been arrested by the military authorities at Louisville on July 30th, 1864, and with Kalfus and others had soon after the middle of August been sent to the military prison at Memphis, Tennessee, from which he was released some-time in November, 1864, and permitted to return to his home in Kentucky. December 7th, 1864, he resumed the duties of his Office of Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky, and presided until December 24th, 1864, when a warrant was issued for his arrest, but through an error of the Officer to whom it had been given to execute the warrant was attempted to be served on Judge William F. Bullock, the Officer getting the two names confounded; and Judge Bullock immediately notified Bullitt of the existence of the warrant and Bullitt secreted himself, the Officer searching Bullitt's house for him that night and again on the night of December 27th; after which time Bullitt fled the country and went to Canada, where he rented a farm about two miles from Amhurstburg, Canada, where his family joined him, and where they remained until after the end of the Civil War.

A good many arms and a great-deal of ammunition were shipped from England to Nassau for the Southern Confederacy, but as they could not be gotten through the blockade arrangements were made to ship them through Canada and distribute them among the members of the Order of Sons of Liberty.

In the "Life of Oliver P. Morton," by Judge William Dudley Foulke, I find reference made to "a large amount of gold, and checks for a large amount on a Montreal bank being found on Judge Bullitt when he was arrested."

As I was with Judge Bullitt when he was arrested I will state, Bullitt had in his sachel at that time $5,000.00 in gold, from one of the checks given him which he had cashed in Montreal: and he had one un-cashed check for $5,000.00 on his person, both of which (the gold and the un-cashed check,) were taken possession of by the United States Military Officer by whose order Bullitt had been arrested at 3 o'clock Saturday P. M., July 30th, 1864, in Louisville; and turned over to the United States Government. Again; where Judge Foulke writes of the conference of "July 30th, between General Burbridge, Colonel Fairleigh, and Governor Morton," he neglects to state that General Carrington, Governor Bramlette of Kentucky, and myself, Felix G. Stidger, were also at that conference, and it was held on the night of July 29th, 1864. He also states that Kalfus was at one time Commander of the 15th Kentucky Infantry. As that was the regiment to which I belonged, and there was always an Officer of higher rank than Kalfus present with the regiment until after Kalfus was dishonorably marched out of the United States Military Service at the point of the bayonet, I do not know when he ever commanded the regiment, and further, that the Chief of the Louisville Fire Department was also arrested, and that a fire in that city in which Goverment property had been destroyed was attributed to him; I will state that the fire was at the North-West Corner of Main and Eighth Streets, and was set by a member of the Order of Sons of Liberty by the Greek Fire process; the member obtaining entrance to the building where the Government property was stored by entering an adjoining building occupied by a "friend of the Order" and ascending to the roof of that building and then passing over to the building where the Government property was, prying up the hatchway and entering and depositing the Greek Fire, and departing as he came.

Judge Foulke in his Life of Governor Morton, volume 1, page 420, says: "Dodd was thunderstruck when he found that the principal witness against him was Felix G. Stidger,

a man with whom he had been in close confidence, and he now learned for the first time that this man had been a Detective employed by the Government."

On page 406 of same volume Judge Foulke says: "Stidger was the most valuable of all the Government Detectives. He was a Kentuckian who had gone (was not sent,) to General Carrington on June 5th, 1864."

In the nomination for State Officers made by the Democratic Convention at Indianapolis of July 12th, 1864, of the ten nominees five of them, Doctor James S. Athon, Joseph Ristine, Napoleon B. Taylor, William Anderson, and Oscar B. Hord, were members of the Order of Sons of Liberty; and the other five were strong sympathizers with the designs of the Order.

The history of the exposure of this conspiracy would be incomplete without the insertion of the following letter:

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN DEPARTMENT,
Columbus, Ohio, October 1st, 1864.

Major General Halleck, Chief of Staff, Washington, D.C.:

GENERAL: Soon after my arrival here, to take command of this Department, I was informed, from the War Department, of secret organizations then forming in some of the States of my command, and instructions to try and ferret them out. I placed the papers in the hands of Brigadier General H. B. Carrington, stationed at Indianapolis, Indiana, through whom I have been enabled to keep the War Department fully informed of the measures being taken by the disloyal. Through his energy, perseverance and good judgment, I am indebted for all the information I have been able to transmit. Through the information thus obtained, and the measures taken in consequence thereof, we are indebted, mainly, to being saved from the horrors of Civil War in these States.

I can not be relieved from the duties of this Department, without putting on record my testimony in General Carrington's favor. I have the honor to be, General,

Your obedient servant, S. P. HEINTZELMAN,
C. H. POTTER, Asst. Adjt. Genl. Major General.

CHAPTER XV.

MY FIRST VISIT TO WASHINGTON, D. C.; SENT TO INVESTIGATE GOVERNMENT HORSE STEALING; GIVEN AN INTRODUCTION BY GOVERNMENT OFFICER TO GUILTY PARTIES; RECEIVING LETTERS OF WARNING AGAINST MY LIFE; LIVING IN LOUISVILLE; THREATS ON MY LIFE; DESPERADO AFTERWARD INFORMING ME OF HIS HAVING BEEN PAID FOR TWO YEARS TO SECRETLY KILL ME; FINALLY COMPELLED TO LEAVE LOUISVILLE.

In July, 1865, during the trial of Mrs. Surratt and others in Washington City I was called to Washington, but as I knew nothing about the case but what I had obtained from reading the newspapers I could be of no service to the Government in that case. While in Washington I called on Colonel L. C, Baker, Chief of the United States Government Secret Service, who was living then with his wife and children at the Willard Hotel, on Pennsylvania Avenue, a $6.00 a day House. Baker told me that he wanted me to go to the Gibson House in Cincinnati and learn why it was that, so many Military Captains and Lieutenants could board with their wives, at a $3.00 a day Hotel on the pay of Officers of that rank. The thought instantly occurred to me that, how in hell can you, Colonel Baker, live with your entire family at the Willard Hotel on a Colonel's salary. When I had gone to the train that night about 8 o'clock to go home, just before the train started a man from Baker's office came hastily into the depot and told me that Colonel Baker wished to see me before I left Washington, and that I could still get the 10 o'clock train out that night. I took my wife back to the United States Hotel and went at once to Colonel Baker's Office. Baker told me that he had just learned that there were a number of very fine Government horses in charge of some parties at or near Warren, Ohio, and that he wanted me to go there as soon as possible and learn what I could in regard to the matter, how they come to be there, who claimed to be the owners of them, and

such other information as I could obtain, and report to him at Washington.

I left Washington that night and took my wife to her mother's home in Louisville, and went at once from there to Warren, Ohio. I arrived at Warren, quite a railroad center, about noon, and began inquiry for a Government horse contractor who I had learned lived there, but was told that he had gone to Cleveland, and would not be back until the next day. I then began inquiry among some of the leading business men and citizens as to the general trade and prices for Government horses in that locality, and learned from them that the Government horse contractor and some others had rented a piece of land some three or four miles out from Warren, where they had from thirty to fifty fine horses, some of them ranging in value as high as $200.00 to $300.00 each, and it was hinted, though not asserted to be, the belief about Warren that not all of these horses had been obtained in the legitimate way of purchase, and I was given to understand that it was quite the general opinion around Warren that the Government horse contractor was associated with men who made it their business to attend the sales of Government horses that had been condemned as unfit for further use in the army, and that these men bought up such horses when sold, and that they either that night or within a few nights after took those condemned horses to a gate of the corral and would pay the guards stationed there a small amount for each horse that they turned into the corral and took out an equal number of the finest horses there, keeping the most valuable ones and placing them on this rented land, and selling the others back to the Government at a high price. I did not give any of these citizens my name, nor my object in these inquiries. I inquired for and learned the name of the Hotel at which this horse contractor stopped when in Cleveland, and telegraphed him to please meet me at the depot in Cleveland that evening at six o'clock. On arriving at the depot in Cleveland I found him awaiting me there, and at once

opened conversation with him with the implied view of future arrangements for my engaging in the horse trade with him. After talking with him an hour or so, and suggesting another meeting with him in the near future I left him and returned immediately to Louisville. I made a written detailed report of what I had learned in my visit to Warren, and, as directed, mailed it to Colonel Baker at Washington, with the suggestion that I be permitted to enter into some arrangement or partnership with this "ring" and get the whole facts of their doings. In a few days I received a reply from Baker directing me to report to a certain quartermaster he named, in Cincinnati, for further instructions. I went to Cincinnati that night, and at 8 o'clock the next morning reported to the quartermaster, seeing the instant that I laid my eyes upon him that instead of his ability to give instructions in the case that he would not know enough to get out of the way if he should see a tree falling toward him, but I told him who I was, and that Colonel Baker had directed me to call upon him for instructions. Just then a man came into the quartermaster's office, and I was given an introduction to him as the Government horse inspector for that military district, and he was informed by the quartermaster that I was the man that had been to Warren looking up Government horse matters there; then the quartermaster proceeded to give me instructions in the presence of the horse inspector; but before he had finished the instructions the horse inspector bid us good-morning and left the office. When I had received all of his instructions I knew that I was "dead" in the case, and that there was nothing further that I could do. After leaving the quartermaster's office I went around to see a Major Judge Advocate that I knew well, whose office was in Cincinnati at that time. When I walked into the Judge Advocate's Office I saw the Judge Advocate and the Government horse inspector to whom I had been introduced in the quartermaster's office in close conversation, but before I had time to speak to the Judge Advocate the

horse inspector arose from his seat and gave me an introduction to the Judge Advocate, not knowing that I already knew him well, at the same time informing him that I was the man that had been up to Warren looking up the horse matters there. I noticed that the Judge Advocate did not take the information any too pleasantly, and the horse inspector soon after bidding us good-morning left us. The Judge Advocate almost immediately had pressing business at the bank, and he and I went down on to the street together and at the first corner I turned to leave him, when he told me to come to his office again in the morning, as he wanted to see me before I left the city. I went to the Judge Advocate's office the next morning at 8 o'clock, where I was informed by his chief clerk that he had gone to Columbus, Ohio, the night before. As I had learned that a Military Officer of as high rank as a Colonel, or higher, stationed at Columbus, was connected with the Warren horse transactions I knew that I was then personally acquainted with at any-rate three of the parties interested in the matter. I returned to Louisville by the steamer going down that morning, and reported to Colonel Baker the results of my trip to Cincinnati, and that as I had had an introduction to one of the leaders through his quartermaster I could do nothing further in the matter.

I then returned to my office in Indianapolis, and in about two weeks afterward, soon after the first of August, a man came into my office one morning and inquired for me, and upon my informing him that I was the man he wanted to see he told me that Colonel Baker had sent him to see me and get such information as I could give him about the horse matters at Warren, Ohio. I told him that there was no information I could give him that would be of any service to him or the Government; That while I knew some of the men who were guilty, Colonel Baker had placed matters in such a condition that it was impossible for me to obtain any evidence against these men that would stand in law. He thought it very strange that

I should believe men guilty of such great crime and be unable to give any reason for it. Having given him all the information I could, and such reasons therefor as I could, he left me and returned to Washington. *Sixteen Months Afterward* I was informed that the Government had just succeeded in securing sufficient information against a gang of Officers and citizens, headed by a Brigadier General and a Colonel, in Ohio, to warrant the finding of *sixteen* indictments against them in these same horse conspiracy cases. Colonel Baker was dismissed, under charges, from his position as Chief of the United States Government Secret Service, and returned to his home in Iowa or Minnesota, and died there before being brought to trial.

I was, while in Indianapolis, after becoming known as a witness for the Government in the conspiracy cases, continually receiving letters, both of warnings and threats, that if I should go into certain sections of Indiana that I would be killed. While these letters did not alarm, or even worry me in the least, I considered it probably safer to "beard the lion in his den," so in December, 1865, I went to Louisville to live; knowing that there I would be in a den of enemies, and while I did not fear the whole pack of them in day-light I would be the more careful to remain in the house at night. I lived in Louisville two years and nine months, during which time I was never on the street at night. As the conspiracy had wholly died out in Kentucky as an organized body Bullitt had returned to his home, and was not molested by the Government. I often passed him on the street, and several times after passing me I have seen him stop and point me out to whoever he might be with that did not know me, but he never attempted to recognize me personally; and during the two years and nine months that I lived in Louisville there was never any attempt made to molest me but once. I had an office at 151 West Main Street, corner of Bullitt Street. When going to my Office one morning somewhat early, before there were many on the street, as

I was going down Main Street I saw Ed. Hughes, the fireman who had first introduced me to Bullitt, coming up the street on the same side on which I was. As there had been a big fire further down the street about two hours earlier Hughes was pretty drunk; and as he passed me he thought he knew me, and after passing me he turned around and came back, and tapping me on the shoulder asked me if my name was not Simpson, and when I told him it was not, he went on his way.

While I was living in Louisville I had several men working for me soliciting orders, and there was scarcely a day but what one or more of them would report to me that they had been asked who they were at work for, and upon answering, for Stidger & Co., the business man would tell them, "yes, damn him, if it was not for the law, I would stick a knife in his back in a minute," and my men frequently remarked that they never heard a man suggest in any way that he would molest me to my face, but always to my back.

In the printing offices where I had my work done during that two years and nine months I noticed that when I would change my work from one printing office to another that there was always one printer, by the name of "Bob" Bruce, who would soon obtain employment in that office, and while he always seemed friendly and talkative to me I never paid any attention to him. After leaving Louisville, while living in Chicago, in 1879, in passing along State Street one day a man came out of a store and coming up to me, called me by name, and my not fully recognizing him he told me his name was Bob Bruce, and that he had followed me once for two years to kill me secretly, so as to not be detected and caught; he told me that he had worked in all the printing offices where I had had printing done, which I knew to be true; he told me that he had traveled on the steamboats with me to Cincinnati several times, and to St. Louis with me, which I knew to be true; but that he could never get the drop on me to kill me secretly. He told me that for this work he

had been paid for two years by Ex-Chief Justice Joshua F. Bullitt, Louisville City Court Judge J. Hop Price, Doctor H. F. Kalfus, Jailor William K. Thomas, County Clerk T. Jack Conn, and others, all of whom I had known personally, but that after I had left Louisville they had ceased to pay him, and that he was then as good a friend as I had. I afterward inquired into his life in Chicago, and learned that he was conducting a detective agency here, and was noted as a desperado; that he had killed one or two men in Chicago, and had served a term in the penitentiary. The reason that he had been instructed to kill me secretly was, that his employers knew that if he was ever caught for this act he would not hesitate one moment in giving the names of every-one of his employers, and that they had had all the trouble and notoriety that they desired on my account.

After living in Louisville nearly three years, in constant peril of secret assassination, requiring me to never be on the street after sun-down, the threats and demonstrations against me became so bold and open that I found my life was no longer safe even in that city; now that the war was over and there was no longer the restraint against disloyalty that was there when I first went there to live after my evidence being given against the conspirators, and I have not to this day found it safe for me to attempt to live anywhere in the South.

FELIX G. STIDGER.

Unwritten Secret Work

OF THE

Order of Sons of Liberty.

I have seen several publications of these Rituals of the Knights of the Golden Circle, Order of American Knights, and Order of Sons of Liberty, but have never seen one that could be deciphered as to what Degree of the Order it could be properly applied. The original pamphlets could not be so applied—if the covers were destroyed,—by anyone unfamiliar with the Order, and it is only from my personal knowledge and familiarity in the use of the original pamphlets that I am able to correctly designate them.

The Ritual of the Knights of the Golden Circle was that used in the Neophyte or Vestibule, Degree of the Order of Sons of Liberty. Members of this Degree were *never* given an account of the workings or intentions of the Order. If, after making themselves sufficiently familiar with this Degree, they were found worthy to be trusted further with the secrets of the Order they were then admitted to the First Temple Degree of the Order, and further instructed in the designs and intentions of the Order, but then not fully admitted to the secrets until they had fully shown themselves as worthy to the full confidence of the Order, when they were admitted into the Second and Third Temple Degrees of the Order and fully instructed in its revolutionary designs and intentions. It was a case sometimes that a member of the lower degrees would be given some information of the higher degrees before being admitted into the higher degrees, but this was always given by, and at the risk of the higher degree member who gave the information.

The members of the Neophyte or Vestibule Degree were as much bound to the obedience of the Officers of

the Order as those of the higher or Temple Degrees, but there was not the trust reposed in them as in the members of the higher degrees of the Order, and not as much trust reposed in the members of the First Temple Degree as in those of the Second and Third Temple Degrees.

GRIPS, SIGNS, PASSWORDS, ETC.

These Have NEVER Before Been Published.

The Order was so arranged, that one taking the Neophyte or Vestibule Degree knew nothing of the real intentions of the Order further than what the instructions in that degree alone gave him, and in large towns and cities the members of that degree would meet as general political clubs. They would be bound by the obligation of the Order of Sons of Liberty, but knew nothing further of the organization than that Degree. (For the obligation, declaration of principles, etc., see "Ritual of the Order of Sons of Liberty" in this Appendix.)

There are, in the unwritten work, signs, grips, colloquies and pass-words, used in the recognition and testing of members, as follows: A member of the Neophyte Degree on meeting a stranger whom he supposes to be a member of the Order would test him in the signs of the degree thus; Standing erect on both feet, placing the heel of the right foot in the hollow of the left, with the right hand under the left arm, bringing the left hand under the right arm, thus folding the arms, and placing the four fingers of the left hand over the right arm; the stranger, or person addressed, if a member of the Order, will take the same position. That is as far as you go in public. You both then retire to some place where you will not be observed, and continue the test. You advance your right foot, and he will advance his right foot to meet yours, the feet partly passing each-other: the two then take an ordinary grip with the right hands, at the same time placing the left hand on the right breast. If you find him incorrect you stop. If you find him correct you proceed with the following colloquy, which is given in alternate

syllables by each of you; first, the pass-word of the Order for that Degree, which is "Calhoun," syllableized and spelled backwards, thus; I would begin "nu," he reply "oh," I continue "laC," he would then say "S," I would answer "L," when he would say, "Give me liberty," and I would reply, "or give me death;" then you give one shake of the hand. In this Neophyte Degree there is also a signal of distress. This is given by placing the left hand on the right breast and raising the right hand and arm to full height one time, if it is in day-time; if at night, when that could not be seen, you give the night signal of distress by calling out the word oak-oun three times, thus; oak-oun, oak-oun, oak-oun; you wait a moment, and if you receive no reply or assistance you call again, oak-oun, three times as before, and continue this signal until you obtain assistance. The members of this degree were instructed that it was the duty of each member of the Order on seeing or hearing the signal of distress to immediately respond to the call and assist the member in distress. "Oak" is the tree of the acorn, which is the symbolical emblem of the Order, and "oun" is the last syllable of the pass-word, as it is usually pronounced. If the person was not considered worthy to take any further degrees he was not advanced further, and never knew anything officially of the further organization of the Order.

In the First Temple Degree of the Order the sign of recognition is by placing the feet and arms the same as in the Neophyte Degree, except, that in place of four fingers over the right arm, the first two fingers are so placed, and they are separated; this position of the fingers is taught to have reference to State.s rights and State sovereignty, If a member gives that sign it is the duty of another seeing it to advance and recognize him. In taking the grip each one moves his first finger upon the wrist of the other, taking the ordinary grip with the other three fingers, running the thumbs as nearly straight as possible. This grip is taught to be as near the shape of the acorn—the universal emblem of the Order—as can be

made with the hand, and representing strength, growth, and durability; the left hand to be placed on the breast as before. The colloquy is repeated thus: "If I go to the East"—"I will go to the West"—"Let there be no strife"—"between mine and thine"—"for we"—"be brethren." "O"—"S"—"L"—"Resistance to tyrants"—"is obedience to God." (The colloquies are pronounced alternately, as in the Neophyte Degree.) Great care is taken to say "be brethren," the word "be" being a test of membership. The part of this colloquy after the initials "O. S. L.." is said to have been added by Vallandigham, when the work of the Order was sent to him for revision after the committee at New York had revised the ritual in February, 1864. In this Degree members were instructed in the manner of entering a temple. The pass-word of this Degree was changed monthly in each County Temple, which adopted its own pass-word. Those initiated into this Degree were welcomed as full members of the Order of Sons of Liberty, except they were not permitted to represent the Temple in the Grand Council of the State until they had taken the Second and Third Temple Degrees.

The Second Temple Degree: The feet are placed and advanced as before; the hands are crossed on the abdomen, the right hand on the outside, to represent the belt of Orion; the thumbs pointing upwards, to represent the point of the Star Arcturus. The colloquy is repeated thus: "What"—"a Star"—"Arc"—"turus."—"What of the night"—"morning cometh."—"will ye inquire"—"inquire ye,"—"return,"—"come." This colloquy is taken mostly from the 11th and 12th verses of the 21st Chapter of Isaiah. The pass-word of this Degree is "Orion," pronounced as a test by giving the long sound to "i" the second syllable. The grip of this Degree is the ordinary grip, with the thumbs of the joined hands pointing upwards, representing the point of the Star Arcturus. Members were instructed that a five-pointed star of any metal could be used as an emblem of this Degree.

The Third Temple Degree: The feet are placed and

advanced as before; the arms are crossed on the breast, with the fingers pointing to the shoulders, the right arm on the outside. This sign is said to represent the Southern Cross as seen in the Heavens South of the Equator. The colloquy is given thus: "Whence"—"Seir,"—"How"—"By the ford,"—"Name it"—"Jaback,"—"Thy pass-word"—"Washington"—"Bayard," The distinct pronunciation of the last syllable, "yard," being a test of membership. "Washington" is the pass-word of the Degree. The grip is given by locking the thumbs crosswise, the palms of the hands held downwards, and the hands held horizontal. It is a grip of the thumbs only. If, as a stranger, you wish to visit any lodge, you give three knocks on the door; when the wicket is raised you give your name, residence, rank, and the Temple to which you belong. If you are known by any member present you are admitted; if you are not known a committee is sent out to examine you. They test you, and if they find you are perfect in every particular they report to the lodge, and you are admitted; if you fail in any respect they know you no more.

The Grand Council Degree; The feet are placed and advanced the same as in the Neophyte and Temple Degrees; the right arm is placed as in the Third Temple Degree, the left hand being placed under the right elbow; you then take the ordinary grip with the right hands, and with the left hand, each taking hold of the right elbow of the other, and give one shake of the hands; then take the exact position of folding the arms as in the Neophyte Degree; then each turn one-fourth around to the right, facing in opposite directions, and with the arms still folded, the colloquy is given thus: "Whence"—"America"—"North"—"South." "America" is the pass-word of the Grand Council Degree.

There is reference in the Ritual to a passage of Scripture given in the initiation as part of the charge, Isaiah LIX:14-19. This passage, as well as the "Invocations," is said to have been added to the ritual by Vallandigham.

The passage reads:

"And judgement is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off; for truth is fallen into the street, and equity can not enter. Yea, truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey; and the Lord saw it, and it displeased Him that there was no judgement. And He saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor; therefore His arm brought salvation unto Him; and His righteousness, it sustained Him. For He put on righteousness as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation upon His head; and He put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak. According to their deeds, accordingly He will repay, fury to His adversaries, recompense to His enemies; to the islands, He will repay recompense. So shall they fear the name of the Lord from the West, and His glory from the rising of the Sun. When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him."

These Unwritten Secret Signs, Passwords and Colloquies have never before been published. The Order itself never allowed them to be printed, but they were always given personally and verbally by a member of the Order sufficiently instructed in them to enable him to instruct intelligibly. In this way it was impossible for any-one outside of the members of the Order to obtain them.

APPENDIX.

EXPLANATION

OF THE

INITIAL LETTERS USED IN THE RITUALS.

O. A. K.

W. O. C. Warden of Outer Court.
K. L. Knight Lecturer.
K. C. Knight Conductor.
N. Neophyte.
A. B. Ancient Brother.
K. G. N. Knight Guardian North.
K. G. S. Knight Guardian South.
G. S. Grand Seignior.
The above belongs to the First Degree of the Order of American Knights.
E. K. C. W. Excellent Knight Commander West.
E. K. Excellent Knight.
E. K. G. C. Excellent Knight Grand Commander.
O. A. K. Order of American Knights. The above belongs to the Second Degree of the Order of American Knights.
M. E. K. Most Excellent Knight.
M. E. D. O. A. K. Most Excellent Degree of the O. A. K.
M. E. G. C. Most Excellent Grand Commander.

O. S. L.

NEOPHYTE OR VESTIBULE LESSON.

V. Vestibule.
W. O. C. Warden Outer Court.
L. V. Lecturer of the Vestibule.
O. C. Outer Court.
T. Temple.

FIRST DEGREE.

O. S. L. Order of Sons of Liberty.
C. T. Conductor of the Temple.
W. Warden.
A. B. Ancient Brother (second officer of First Degree.)
A. S. L. A Son of Liberty.
O. Order.
F. G. N. Fellow Guardian North.
F. G. S. Fellow Guardian South.
G. S. Grand Seignior (first officer of First Degree.)
F. O. S. L. Fellow in the Order of Sons of Liberty.

SECOND DEGREE, OR FIRST CONCLAVE DEGREE.

K. O. S. L. Knight Order of Sons of Liberty.
K. C. Knight Conductor.
K. C. W. Knight Commander West, (second officer.)
I. T. Inner Temple.
C. C. Commander Conclave.
T. D. Temple Degree.
G. C. Grand Council.
S. C. Supreme Council.
K. C. C. Knight Commander of Conclave.
I. T. of O. Inner Temple of the Order.

THIRD DEGREE, OR SECOND CONCLAVE DEGREE.

M. E. K. O. S. L. Most Excellent Knight Order of Sons of Liberty.
M. E. K. C. W. Most Excellent Knight Commander West.
K. C. Knight Conductor.
M. E. K's. Most Excellent Knights.
M. E. K. O. S. L. Most Excellent Knights Order of Sons of Liberty.
M. E. G. C. Most Excellent Grand Commander.
I. T. Innermost Temple.
C. Conclave.
G. C. S. Grand Council of the State.
S. C. O. S. L. Supreme Council Order of Sons of Liberty.
K. C. C. Knight Commander of Conclave.

STATE GRAND COUNCIL.

G. C. Grand Council, or Grand Commander.
Dep. G. C. Deputy Grand Commander.
G. C. S. S. C. Grand Counselor S. Supreme Council.
S. G. C. Supreme Grand Council.

RITUALS

OF THE

Order of Sons of Liberty,

NEOPHYTE OR VESTIBULE DEGREE.

W. O. C. Gives * * * (Three knocks.)

K. L. Who cometh? Who cometh? Who cometh?

W. O. C. A man! We found him in the hands of the sons of despotism, bound in chains, and well nigh crushed to death beneath the iron heel of the oppressor. We have brought him hither, and would fain clothe him in the white robes of Virtue, and place his feet in the straight and narrow path which leads to Truth and Wisdom.

K. L. Brothers! The purpose ye have declared touching this stranger is most worthy; let him advance to our altar by the regular steps; instruct him in our chosen, solemn attitude, and let him give testimony of that which is in him.

K. L. DIVINE ESSENCE! GOD OF OUR FATHERS, whose inspiration moved them to mighty deeds of valor in the cause of Eternal Truth, Justice and Human Rights. We, their sons, would fain recognize the same presence and inspiration in this V. of the T., consecrated to the principles which they inculcated by precept and by example, and defended with their lives and their sacred honor. With the DIVINE PRESENCE let holiest memories come, like incense to our souls, and exalt them with emotions worthy of the ceremonies of the Supreme occasion. *Amen!*

Man! Thou art now in the V., and, if found worthy, will hence be ushered into the consecrated T., where Truth dwells amid her votaries; let thy soul be duly conscious of her presence, and go forth in exalted desire for her divine influence. Within those sacred precincts, rev-

erence toward the SUPREME BEING, Patriotism, Love, Charity and good fellowship are inculcated and cherished. Infidelity to God or our country, nor hatred, nor malice, nor uncharitableness, nor their kindred vices, must enter there. "Love one another," is the *hail* of the order into whose inner circle thou wouldst fain be inducted. Direct thy thoughts within, at this supreme moment, and declare, as thou wouldst answer to a good conscience, is thy soul pure and fitted for the indwelling of Truth?

Answer, "yes," or "no."

Is thy heart quickened with genial emotions toward thy fellow man? Answer, "yes," or "no."

It is well. If thou hast not answered truly, in obedience to the promptings of thy holier nature, so shalt thou be judged in the last day, when the secrets of thy heart shall be revealed, and the actions and purposes of thy life on earth shall return to thy soul their fruits of bitterness or joy eternal. I charge thee, if thou art impelled hitherward by curiosity; if thou cherish other purposes, in this regard, than the highest and the holiest which thy heart can conceive, it were better for thee that thy feet had never passed the threshold of our outer court. Our faithful and beloved brothers, who have conducted thee hither into this presence, are thy sponsors. A fearful responsibility is upon them! If thou should falsify their assurances to us, betray us, betray their trust, or stain thy manhood by unworthy actions, it will be their painful duty to publish thy shame, so that thou art expelled, and ever after excluded from the society of honorable men.

Brothers, explain your obligations as sponsors for the candidate.

OBLIGATION OF THE SPONSORS.

"We do solemnly promise and undertake, amidst the inspiring associations of our sacred V., that the stranger whom we have introduced into this presence, shall in all things prove himself a true man. That from his daily walk and conversation with his fellows, we guarantee his worthiness to be inducted into the sublime mysteries of

our beloved order. We do further promise and undertake for him, that he shall faithfully keep secret whatsoever shall transpire in this presence. We do further promise, that if he shall be found worthy thereto, and shall be advanced to the inner T. of our order, that he shall reveal nothing which shall therein be made known to him to be preserved an inviolate secret. We do further promise that, in case he shall betray the confidence which he has inspired in us, we will hold it our bounden duty to see that he is expelled from the association of all honorable men, This we do promise with the approbation of the DIVINE SPIRIT. Amen!

Hast thou heard and considered the words, promises and obligations of thy sponsors? Answer, "Aye."

Wilt thou, imploring aid from the DIVINITY within thee, perform unto the end that which they have promised in thy behalf? Answer, "I will."

It is well! God help thee unto the end!

It is now my duty to explain the principles which our order inculcates, holding them for sublime and eternal truths, and which we, as an organized fraternity, and as individuals, aim to illustrate in our lives and conversations, as well in our intercourse with men as in our sacred conclave. Listen to the words of wisdom, and let them sink deep into thy heart.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

1st. Essence, Ethereal, Eternal, Supreme—by us called GOD! hath created, pervades and controls the UNIVERSE! dwells in man, and is the DIVINITY within him!

Sponsors. "Amen."

2nd. All men are endowed by the Creator with certain rights—equal only so far as there is equality in the capacity for the appreciation, enjoyment and exercise of those rights—some of which are inalienable, while others may, by voluntary act, or consent, be qualified, suspended or relinquished, for the purpose of social governmental organizations, or may be taken away from the individual by the supremacy of the law which he himself has or-

dained, in conjunction with his fellows, for their mutual protection and advancement toward perfect civilization.

3rd. Government arises from the necessities of well-organized society.

4th. Right government derives its sole authority from the will of the governed, expressly declared.

(The majority should express such will, in the mode which the unanimous voice shall approve; always guaranteeing to each individual, unless he shall have been restrained by the law, the privilege and opportunity to make known his opinions and express his will in regard to all matters relating or pertaining to the government.)

5th. The grand purpose of the government is the welfare of the governed; its success is measured by the degree of progress which the people shall have attained toward the most exalted civilization.

6th. Government founded upon the principles enunciated in the foregoing propositions, is designated *"Democracy."* *(The division of Territory where it exists, is called, usually, a* "REPUBLIC." *sometimes a* "STATE.")

7th. Reflection, observation and experience, seem to have established in the minds of wise and impartial men, the conclusion that *"Democracy."* properly organized upon the great principles which our Revolutionary ancestors --*patriots and sages*-- held, inculcated and defended, best achieves the grand and benificent ends of human government.

8th. The government organized and existing in the original Thirteen States of North America, when they had severally and unitedly renounced their allegiance to the Government of Great Britain, and dissolved their former colonial relations, we regard as the wisest, and best adapted to the nature and character of the people inhabiting the Continent of North America at the present day! Under the benign influences of that Government, a Nation has arisen and attained a degree of power and splendor, which has no paralle In the history of the human race.

9th. The Government designated "the United States of America," which shall blazon the historic page, and shed its light along the path of future ages, was the transcendent conception and mighty achievement of wisdom, enlightened patriotism, and virtue, which appear to have passed from earth amidst the fading glories of the *Golden Era*, which they illustrated with immortal splendor. That Government was created originally by *thirteen free, sovereign, and independent States*, for their mutual benefit, to administer the affairs of their common interests and concerns; being endowed with the powers, dignity, and supremacy, and no further or other, which are distinctly specified and warranted, and conferred by the strict letter of the immortal compact, "The Constitution of the United States." Sponsors—Amen!

Man! under the influence of sublime Truth! amid the inspiration of the Divine Presence! which thou didst invoke on thy approach to this Altar, how wilt thou respond to the declarations which thou hast just heard?

Answer as to thy conscience, aye! or no! for so it will be recorded. Amen!

Place thyself in the solemn attitude of invocation which thou didst first assume before this Altar, and repeat after me: I ————, fully comprehending and appreciating the Declaration of Principles which I have just heard pronounced, hold them for truth—to cherish them in my heart of hearts—to inculcate them amongst my fellow men---to illustrate them, as far as in me lies, in my daily walk and conversation, and, if needs be, will defend them with my life. I appeal to that Divine Essence which created and rules the Universe, and dwells in me, to witness the sincerity of my vows. I do solemnly promise, that, should I, from my own volition, or from adjudged unworthiness, advance no further than this V. of the T., consecrated to the rites and mysteries of the brotherhood, to which I purpose to be inducted, I will never reveal, or make known to any person or persons, by sign or signs, word or words, nor in any other manner, the cere-

monies in which I have just taken part, nor the names nor persons of those who have participated with me, nor any part, nor any one of them, nor any single word nor thing, which I have heard, or have seen herein; nor any purpose which I have learned or conjectured as the leading purpose of the brotherhood whose *Inner Temple* I desire to enter. To the faithful performance of all which, in presence of these witnesses, my worthy Sponsors, I pledge my most sacred honor! Amen!

Friend! Thou art well and truly informed touching the grand principles of an order, whose highest purpose is to teach, cherish, and inculcate those principles by precept and by example, and to defend them wheresoever assailed; whose other purpose is to love and cherish one another, and to relieve the worthy in their distress, giving our first care to our own brother, and to those who are nearest and dearest to him. Remember; that as a fraternity, we inculcate neither sectarianism or partisanism, only de— manding unity in sentiment touching immutable principles

(Here endeth the lesson of the V.) (Instruct in the sign.)

Dost thou now sincerely desire to advance, or shall our worthy brothers conduct thee to the place where thou last saw the light of heaven, and return thee again to the path from which thy feet have been so lately turned aside? Listen to the words of thy Sponsors.

Sponsors. I would advance onward and upward, even to the Temple where Truth dwells serenely. I would fain worship at her shrine through all of life to me on earth.

Friend! Sayest thou so? Answer, "Aye."

So be it. Thou shalt advance!

Thy Sponsors will deliver thee to the W. of the T., who will conduct thee to the Most Ancient and the Sages, who will instruct thee in wisdom, and will give unto thee a new name.

May not their words fall upon ears which can not hear! Nor their hands fall upon a head that will not learn!

Thou wilt now passs to the sacred precincts, where thou shalt be hailed brother! See that thou return hither a wiser and a better man!

Conduct our Neophyte to the Most Ancient and our Sages. See to it that ye make his pathway smooth. Let the air be redolent with incense, and let it breathe sweetest music upon his ear, so that the pursuit of knowledge shall be to him a continual joy and inspiration.

W. O. C. Gives * * * (Three knocks.)

K. C. Who cometh? Who cometh? Who cometh?

W. A N., whom our worthy brother L., of the V., commanded us to deliver to the C. of the T. He is from the outer darkness, and would journey east for light and instruction.

K. C. He should have received his first lesson in the V. I would be assured of his proficiency. Let the N. advance and give the signs in which he has been instructed.

K. C. 'Tis well. I will conduct thee to the A. B.

A. B. Who cometh? Who cometh? Who cometh?

K. C. A N., whom our worthy brother W. has brought hither by command of our worthy L. of the V. I have proved him, and found him duly proficient in the lesson he has received. He fain would journey east for instruction.

A. B. His desire shall be gratified. But it is my duty to admonish him touching the trials and perils he needs must encounter, and to demand of him a solemn obligation, first giving him assurance that such obligation requires of him nothing inconsistent with his duty to GOD! to his country! to his family! or to himself. N., with this assurance, are you now willing to take such an obligation?

N. I am.

A. B. Then place yourself in the attitude in which you plighted your solemn vows in the V., holding in your right hand the sacred emblem of our order.

OBLIGATION OF THE NEOPHYTE,

I, ————, in the presence of God! and many witnesses, do solemnly declare, that I do herein, freely, and in the light of a good conscience, renew the solemn vows which I plighted in the V. I do further promise that I will never reveal, nor make known, to any man, woman or child, any thing which my eyes may behold, or any word

which my ears may hear, within this sacred T., nor in any other T., nor in any other place where the brotherhood may be assembled. That I will never speak of, nor intimate any purpose or purposes of this order, whether contemplated or determined, to any one except to a brother of this order, whom I know to be such. That I will never exhibit any or either of the emblems or insignia of the order, except by express authority granted to that end, and that I will never explain their use or signification to any-one not a brother of this order, whom I know to be such, under any pretense whatsoever, neither by persuasion nor by coercion. That I will never reveal nor make known, to any man, woman or child, any or either of the signs, hails, pass-words, watch-words, initials nor initial letters belonging to this order, neither by voice, nor by gesture, attitude or motion of the body, nor any member of the body; nor by intimation through the instrumentality of anything animate or inanimate, or object in the heavens, or on the earth, or above the earth, except to prove a man, if he be a brother, or to communicate with a brother whom I shall have first duly proved or know to be such. That I will never pronounce the name of this order in the hearing of any man, woman or child, except to a brother of this order, whom I know to be such. That I will ever have in my most holy keeping each and every secret of this order, which may be confided to me by a brother, either within or without the T., and rather than reveal which, I will consent to any sacrifice, even unto *death by torture*. I do further promise that I will never recommend for membership to this order any man who is not a citizen of an American State, except by dispensation to that end, by the competent authority of the order —citizenship always resulting from nativity, or from due process of law in such case provided—neither any person who has not attained the age of twenty-one years; neither a man unsound or infirm in body or in mind—such as a cripple or an idiot; neither any-one of African descent, whether slave or freeman; neither an avowed and ac-

knowledged atheist; neither a person of bad repute. That I will ever cherish toward each and every member of this order, fraternal regard and fellowship; that I will ever aid a worthy brother in distress, if in my power to do so; that I will never do wrong, knowingly, to a brother, nor permit him to suffer wrong at the hand of another, if it shall be in my power to warn him of danger or prevent the wrong. I do further promise that I will, at all times, if needs be, take up arms in the cause of the oppressed—*in my country first of all*—against any Monarch, Prince, Potentate, Power, or Government usurped, which may be found in arms, and waging war against a people or peoples, who are endeavoring to establish, or have inaugurated, a Government for themselves of their own free choice, in accordance with, and founded upon, *the eternal principles of Truth!* which I have sworn in the V., and now in this presence do swear, to maintain inviolate, and defend with my life. *This* I do promise, without reservation or evasion of mind; without regard to the name, station, condition or destination of the invading or coercion power, whether it shall arise from within or come from without! I do further promise that I will always recognize and respond to the hail of a brother, when it shall be made in accordance with the instructions and injunctions of the order, and not otherwise. I do further promise that, with GOD'S help, I will ever demean myself toward my fellow man, and especially toward the brotherhood, as becometh a *true man.* I do further promise that, should I cease to be a member of this order, either of my own volition or by expulsion, I will hold and preserve inviolate my solemn vows and promises herein declared, as well as while I am in full fellowship. All this I do solemnly promise and swear sacredly to observe, perform and keep, with a full knowledge and understanding, and with my full assent, that the penalty which will follow a violation of any or either of these, my solemn vows, *will be a shameful death!* while my name shall be consigned to infamy, while this sublime order shall survive the wrecks of time, and even until the last

faithful brother shall have passed from earth to his service in the Temple not made with hands! Divine Essence! and ye men of Earth! witness the sincerity of my soul touching these, my vows! Amen! Amen! Amen!

CHARGE.

A. B. Neophyte, thy progress from the outer darkness to this presence, and thy proficiency in the sublime lessons, which have been given thee to learn, gives assurance that there is one more votary to eternal Truth, rescued from the throng which wear the galling chains of Error. Thy journey is well nigh accomplished. Fain would I tell thee that thy trials are passed, but it is not so; yet, I will give thee such caution and admonition as will serve thee much. The Sons of Despotism will beset thy path, and aim to turn thee back to thy dark haunts; will scoff and buffet thee; peradventure, will seek thy life. Then put thy trust in GOD and TRUTH. Still, thy journey leadeth due East, until thou art hailed by the G. S., who will further instruct thee, welcome thee, brother, in our Inner Court, and give unto thee a new name. Beware, lest thou bear thee toward the North too far, and loose thy way, and perish amid the moaning pines, which crown the rugged hills, sighing ever in rough harmony to the icy blasts, or amid the hoary, moss-clad rocks, whose yawning chasms open wide and bottomless to the hapless wanderer. As well take heed, lest the balmy zephyrs from the golden South entice thee too far thither. There the gentle winds will cool thy fevered temples, and awake thy senses in delirious joy; yet they bear too oft the deadly malaria, and minister to death in his awful revelry. We have a trusty Brother Guardian on either side thy way, who, true and constant at their posts, perchance may hail thee, when thou wilt tarry, should he bid thee, receive what he shall offer, and give thy earnest heed to all his words. Remember, the only path which leads where Truth and Wisdom dwells together, their fairest sister, Virtue, traced. It leadeth onward, upward, straight, It is paved with gems, and pearls, and gold. It is bordered

with perennial flowers, whose perfumes all thy senses entrance. Neophyte, be thy watch-word—Onward! Onward! Onward!

K. G. N.

K. G. N. Who cometh? Who cometh? Who cometh? Advance!

K. C. A N,, by command of our A. B. in the West, journeying toward the East to receive light and instruction.

K. G. N. Then he has left the straight path, and has lost his way. Danger is in every step he advances. I am from the far North not long since. The barren wastes are white with the bleaching bones of such as he, and the yawning chasms send up an horrid stench from Death's late carnival! Bid him turn back. He has forgotten the instructions of our A. B. Was he not charged to follow the straight and narrow path which Virtue has traced?

K. C. True! We entered upon the straight path, but ere we had proceeded far, the Sons of Despotism beset us, and drove us from our course with violence. We were sorely bruised. We were bewildered, and lost our way. Wilt thou direct us hence?

K. G. N. I will; but first I must prove him, that I may know by what right he claims my care and assistance.

K. C. Lo! He hath a sign.

K. G. N. 'Tis well. Hath he a pass-word?

K. C. He has; and will give it.

K. G. N. 'Tis well. Thy watch-word?

N. Onward! Onward! Onward!

K. G. N. 'Tis well. Tarry and refresh thyselves; then depart due South. Shouldst thou cross the path thou seekest, and reach the camp of our G. in the South, he will further instruct thee. Thy watch-word still—Onward! Onward! Onward!

K. G. S.

K. G. S. Who cometh? Who cometh? Who cometh? Strangers, advance. Declare thy way and purpose.

K. C. I come with this N. from our worthy A. B. in the West, who commanded us to journey due East to the

M. E. G. S. and the Sages for light and instruction. He charged us to follow the straight path. We had not journeyed far, when we were beset by the Factionists, Fanatics, and Sons of Error and Despotism, who did wound and bruise us sorely, because we would not turn back with them to their dark and devious ways. In brief, we lost our path, and would have perished amid the snows of the icy North, or sunk into the yawning chasms of the rocks, but that the worthy K. G. N. did hail us as we passed his tent, and gave us wine and bread, instructed us in wisdom, and turned our faces hitherward. Wilt thou show us our path?

K. G. S. I will. But first I would prove thy friend. I know thee well for a true man. Let the Neophyte advance the sign.

K. G. S. 'Tis well. Hath he a pass-word?

K. C. He has. K. G. S. Bid him give it me.

'Tis well. Thy watch-word?

N. Onward! Onward! Onward!

K. G. S. 'Tis well. Tarry and refresh yourselves, and I will instruct you further. Happily, thou didst approach my tent, else thou and thy friend might have perished together in the trackless fen, or perchance thy limbs had wearied, and thy heart become faint in thy weary way under the scorching rays of the meridian sun; or inhaled the rank poison, which, distilled in the cool air of night, swathes the heated brow in the death camp, which no tender hand can wipe away; or, peradventure, the soft gales, laden with perfume, and breathing the syren's entrancing melody, had lulled thy soul to rest in inglorious ease to destruction. Not yet is thy Neophyte fitted for the field of labor. His soul must be attuned to the harmony of great thoughts, to the conception and achievement of mighty deeds and purposes. Our brothers there are doing battle in the cause of eternal Truth. They have no place for Neophytes. When he shall have reached our sacred T., whose spires are glistening in the dawning rays of Truth's resplendent sun; when he shall have drunk deep from the

)untains of Wisdom, which send forth their streams to ıerish and gladden noble manhood, then shall he don our ıcred armor, rush to the deadly breach where faction's ıring hosts are gathered, and waving aloft our holy ban-ɜr, consecrated to Freedom, Truth and Virtue, shall ɜar it on to victory, or die beneath its folds. Conduct ım again to the straight and narrow path, thence on-ard due East to our G. S.. and the Sages of the T. Cheer ıs heart; beguile his way with tales of daring deeds. Let ıe watch-word be ever and ever—Onward! Onward! nward!

G. S.

K. C. We have attained the end of our journey. The '——s of the Eastern Tower have sounded the alarm. ssume the attitude in which thou wert instructed in the . Fall upon thy knee, in the posture which best ex-·esses humilation. He that humbleth himself shall be ɛalted. Thou shalt rise again to welcome the glad light hich glows resplendent around our holy place, where ruth, Virtue, Wisdom, dwell together, and their altars ·er burn with the incense-offerings of their votaries.

(Kneels upon his left knee.)

G. S. Who cometh? Who cometh? Who cometh?

K. C. M. E. G. S, I have brought a N. He is from the ·est and hath journeyed East for instruction in Truth ıd Wisdom. *He is a man.*

G. S. A man! sayest thou? Methinks that posture be-)meth not a man formed in the image of his Creator. It)th imply debasement—servitude.

K. C. Servitude, M. E. G. S., but not debasement. wo brothers of our sacred order found him bound in ıains, and upon his neck a heavy yoke. Our worthy others, as is their wont, did break his fetters, cast away s galling yoke, and brought him to our V., where he ·oved himself a true man. So did our A. B. prove him, ıd gave to him our sacred watch-word. So did our worthy ——s N. and S. prove him by our signs, and by his pro-ɔiency in the lessons of our order. Still, M. E. G. S., he

serveth. G. S. Serveth? Whom What?

K. C. GOD! and his country!

G. S. 'Tis well. Such service well becometh a man. By the authority vested in me by the C. S. of our order, I give him welcome to our sacred B. Pronounce the name by which he is knowm amongst his fellow men. I would give him a new name.

(Instruction in the Signs, etc., see page 183.)

OPENING.

DIVINE ESSENCE! We would recognize Thy Presence in our T., consecrated to Truth! Let holiest memories come, like incense, to our souls; memories of our ancestors' virtues, and their glorious deeds in the holy cause of Truth, Justice, and the Rights of Man! inspiring emotions! holy! exalted! worthy of the ceremonies of this sacred place. May each heart in this presence to other beat in unison, with genial sympathies, while our souls, as one, glow with the emotions of our holy nature. May our cherished brotherhood so live, that when we have done with earthly things, we may be hailed for service in the Temple not made with hands, ETERNAL, in the heavens. *Amen!*

CLOSING.

DIVINE ESSENCE! With grateful hearts we recognize the *Holy Presence, Inspiration, and Guidance,* during the ceremonies and deliberations of the occasion. Deign to go with us to our several homes—to our chambers of repose—so shall gentle slumbers renew our manhood's strength, for better service on earth; the asperities of our grosser nature be subdued and chastened; our souls fitted for the upper sphere, and welcomed for service in the Inner Temple there by the hail: "Well done." *Amen!*

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Ceremonies of Opening.
2. Reading and approval of minutes of preceding meeting and reports of Secretary and Treasurer.
3. Balloting for Candidates recommended at a former meeting.

4. Induction of Candidates.

5. Reading and consideration of communications from other organizations.

6. Nomination of Candidates and reference to Committee.

7. Propositions for the good of the Order, including immediate purposes and plans, and their consideration and discussion.

8. Lecture.

9. Information concerning the condition of members, whether any one is sick or in distress, requiring aid and sustenance.

First Temple Degree.

W. O. C. Gives * * * (Three knocks.)

L. V. Who cometh?

W. O. C. A citizen we found in the hands of the Sons of Despotism, bound and well nigh crushed to death beneath their oppressions. We have brought him hither, and would now restore to him the blessings of Liberty and Law.

L. V. Brothers, the purpose ye have declared, touching this stranger, is most worthy. Let him advance to the altar by the regular steps; instruct him in our chosen solemn attitude, and let him give heed to the words which shall be spoken.

INVOCATION.

L. V. God of our Fathers, whose inspiration moved them to deeds of valor, in the cause of Eternal Truth, Justice and Equal rights; we, their sons, now invoke Thy Divine Presence in this V. of the T., consecrated to the principles which they inculcated by precept, and by example, and defended with their lives. Bless our country, and restore and protect her liberties. Amen!

L. B. Citizen, thou art now in the V., and if found worthy, will be hence ushered into the consecrated T., within whose precincts, reverence toward the Supreme Being, patriotism, peace, charity and good fellowship are

inculcated and cherished. Direct thy thoughts within at this moment, and declare, as thou wouldst answer to a good conscience, art thou ready? Response. I am.

L. V. It is well! I charge thee that if thou art impelled hitherward by curiosity; if thou cherish other purposes in this regard than the highest and holiest thy heart can conceive, it were better for thee that thy feet had never passed the threshold of our O. C. Our faithful and well-beloved brothers, who have conducted thee hither into this presence, are thy Sponsors—a fearful responsibility is upon them. If thou shouldst betray their trust, or stain thy manhood by unworthy actions, it will be their solemn duty to publish thy shame, so that thou shalt be expelled, and ever after excluded from the society of honorable men.

Brothers, hear your obligations as Sponsors for the candidate.

OBLIGATION OF SPONSORS.

We do solemnly promise and undertake that the stranger, whom we have introduced into this presence, shall, in all things, prove himself a true man; that from his daily walk and conversation with his brethren, we guarantee his worthiness to be inducted into the mysteries of this society. We do further promise and undertake for him, that he shall faithfully keep secret whatsoever shall transpire in this presence; and that in case he shall betray the confidence which he has inspired in us, we will hold it our bounden duty to aid in his expulsion from all association with honorable men. Amen!

L. V. Hast thou heard and considered the obligation of thy Sponsors? Answer. I have.

L. V. Wilt thou well and truly perform unto the end. that which they have promised on thy behalf?

Answer. I will.

L. V. It is well. It is now my duty to explain the principles which our society inculcates, and which we, as a fraternity and as individuals, aim to illustrate in our lives and conversation.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

1st. GOD hath created and controls the Universe.

2nd. All men are endowed by the Creator with certain rights—equal so far as there is equality in the capacity for the appreciation, enjoyment and exercise of those rights—some of which are inalienable, while others may, by voluntary act or consent, be qualified, suspended, or relinquished, for the purposes of social and governmental organizations.

3rd. Government arises from the necessities of society, and rightful government derives its sole authority from the will of the governed, its chief end being their welfare.

4th. The governments organized and existing in the original thirteen States of North America, after they had severally and unitedly renounced their allegiance to the Government of Great Britain, we regard as the wisest and best adapted to the nature and character of the people of the United States.

5th. That government was established originally by *thirteen, free, sovereign and independent States,* "in order to form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people thereof, and their posterity; being intrusted with the powers and supremacy, and no further or other, which are specially granted in the compact, entitled the *Constitution of the United States,* strictly construed.

L. V. Dost thou assent to the declaration of principles which thou hast just heard? Answer. I do.

L. V. Present thyself, then, in the attitude of invocation which thou didst first assume before this altar, and receive thy obligation.

OBLIGATION.

I, ————, fully comprehending the declaration of principles which I have just heard pronounced, hold them for truth—to cherish them in my heart—to illustrate them, as far as in me lies, in my daily walk and conversa-

tion, and, to defend them with my life. I do solemnly promise, that I will never reveal or make known to any person or persons, by sign or word, or in any manner, the ceremonies in which I have just taken part, nor the names nor persons of those who have participated with me, nor any purpose which I have learned or conjectured as any part of the object of this society; and that I will, without hesitation or delay, perform whatever may be rightfully required of me by the duly constituted authorities of the society. To the faithful performance of all of which, in presence of these witnesses, I pledge my most sacred honor. Amen!

W. O. C. Gives * * * (Three knocks.)

C. T. Who cometh?

W. A S. L., whom our worthy brother L. V. commanded us to deliver to the C. T.

C. T. He should have received his first lesson in the V. I would be assured of his proficiency.

Let the S. L. advance the signs in which he is instructed.

C. T. 'Tis well. I will conduct thee to the A. B.

A. B.

A. B. Who cometh?

C. T. A S. L., whom our trusty brother W. has brought hither by command of the L. V. I have proved him, and found him duly proficient in the lesson he has received; he would journey East for instruction.

A. B. His desire shall be gratified; but it is my duty, first, to submit to him the lesson of the T., and then to demand of him a solemn obligation; giving him assurance that such obligation requires of him nothing inconsistent with his duty to his God, his family, or himself. S. L., with this assurance, art thou willing to take such an obligation? S. L. I am.

LESSON.

1st. A well defined belief in a Creator and Supreme Ruler of the Universe, imparts true dignity to man.

2nd. The ideas and principles maintained by our O. on the subject of government, are identical with those

taught and defended by the founders of American liberty in the original thirteen States of North America.

3rd. The liberties of those States were assailed by despotic power, which aimed at their conquest and subjugation; hence they made common cause for their mutual defense, and established friendly relations with each other, in the compact entitled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States."

4th. When those States had maintained their freedom and independence, they severally entered into a compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America, for the ends and purposes therein distinctly declared and specified; and the government thereby created was intrusted by the States, acting in their several capacities of Free and Independent States, with powers sufficient to the accomplishment of those ends and purposes, and no other; powers not delegated to that government being, by the express letter of the compact, "reserved to the States or to the people respectively."

5th. Sovereignty resides in and with the people of the States respectively, which are parties to the Constitution of the United States. It can not be alienated, neither can it be delegated. Some of its powers may be exercised by delegated authority, while others can not be so exercised, except at the sacrifice, on the part of the constituent, of all that lends dignity to man's relation to government.

6th. The Government designated the United States of America has no sovereignty, because that is an attribute belonging to the people in their respective State organizations, and with which they have not endowed that government as their common agent. It was by the terms of this compact, constituted by the States, through the express will of the people thereof severally, such common agent to use and exercise certain specified and limited powers. It was authorized so far as regards its status and relations, as a common agent in the exercise of the powers carefully and jealously delegated to it, to call itself "supreme," but not "sovereign." Supremacy,

as plainly intended by the tenor and spirit of article VI of the Constitution, was created, defined and limited by the sovereignties themselves.

7th. In accordance with these principles, the Federal Government can exercise only delegated power; hence, if those who shall have been chosen to administer that Government, shall assume to exercise power not delegated, they should be regarded and dealt with as usurpers.

8th. The claim of "inherent power," or "war power," as also "State necessity," or "military necessity," on part of the functionaries of a constitutional government, for sanction of any arbitrary exercise of power, we utterly reject and repudiate.

9th. All power resides in the people, and is delegated always to be exercised for the advancement of the common weal.

10th. Whenever the officials, to whom the people have intrusted the powers of the government, shall refuse to administer it in strict accordance with its constitution, and shall assume and exercise power or authority not delegated, it is the inherent right, and imperative duty of the people, to resist such officials, and, if need be, expel them by force of arms. Such resistance is not revolution, but is solely the assertion of right.

11th. It is incompatible with the history and nature of our system of government, that federal authority should coerce by arms a sovereign State; and all intimations of such power or right, were expressly withheld in the Constitution, which conferred upon the Federal Government all its authority.

12th. Upon the preservation of the sovereignty of the States, depends the preservation of civil and personal liberty.

13th. In a convention of delegates, elected by the people of a State, is recognized the impersonation of the sovereignty of that State. The declaration of such convention upon the subject matter for which it was assembled, is the ultimate expression of that sovereignty.

Such convention may refer its action back to its constituents, or the people may reverse the action of one convention by the voice of another. Thus sovereignty resides in the people of each State, and speaks alone through their conventions. S. L., what sayest thou to this lesson? Do its teachings command thy unqualified assent? S. L. They do.

A. B. Present thyself, then, in the attitude in which thou didst plight thy solemn vows in the V., holding in thy right hand the sacred emblem of our O.

OBLIGATION.

I, ————, in the presence of GOD and these witnesses, do solemnly declare that I do herein freely renew the vows which I plighted in the V. I do further promise that I will never reveal, nor make known anything which my eyes may behold, or any word which my ears may hear in this T., nor in any other T., nor in any other place where this fellowship may be assembled. That I will never speak of, nor intimate, any measure or measures, whether contemplated or determined, of this O., to any-one except to a fellow of the O. That I will never explain the use or signification of the emblems or insignia of the O., to any-one not a fellow thereof, under any pretense whatsoever, neither by persuasion nor by coercion; that I will never reveal or make known any or either part of the signs, hails, pass-words, watch-words, nor initial letters belonging to this O., except to prove or communicate with a fellow thereof; that I will never pronounce the name of this O. in the hearing of any man, woman, or child, unless to a fellow thereof; that I will ever have in most holy keeping each and every secret of this O., which may be confided to me by a fellow thereof, either within or without the T.; that I will never recommend, for fellowship in this O., any man who is not a citizen of an American State, except by dispensation to that end by competent authority; neither any person who has not attained the age of eighteen years, neither any-one unsound in mind, neither any-one of African descent, whether slave or free,

neither a person of bad repute; that I will ever cherish toward each and every worthy fellow of this O., fraternal regard and fellowship; that I will ever aid a worthy fellow in distress, if in my power so to do; that I will never wrong a fellow, nor see him wronged if in my power to prevent it; that I will at all times implicitly obey, without question or remonstrance, all rightful commands of the constituted authorities of this O.; that I will always recognize and respond to the hail of a fellow, when it shall be made in accordance with the instructions and injunctions of this O., and not otherwise; and should I cease to be a fellow of this O., either of my own volition or by expulsion, I will hold and preserve inviolate my vows and promises herein declared, as truly as while I am in full fellowship. All this I do solemnly promise sacredly to observe, perform and keep, under such penalties as shall be decreed by the competent authority of this O. Amen!

CHARGE.

A. B. S. L., thy journey is well nigh accomplished. Somewhat yet remains, and the Sons of Despotism will beset thy path and aim to turn thee back—peradventure will seek thy life. Then put thy trust in GOD and Truth; still thy journey leadeth due East until thou art hailed by the G. S., who will further instruct thee. Beware, lest thou bear thee toward the North too far and loose thy way; as well, also, take heed lest the South entice thee too far thither. We have a trusty F. G., on either side thy way, who, true and constant at his post, perchance may hail thee. Receive what he shall offer, and give earnest heed to all his words. S. L., be thy watch-word—Onward!

F. G. N.

F. G. N. Who cometh? Advance.

C. T. A S. L., by command of our A. B. in the West, journeying East for light and instruction.

F. G. N. Then he has left the straight path and lost his way; danger is in every step he advances; bid him turn back; he has forgotten the instructions of our A. B. Was he not charged to follow the straight and narrow path?

C. T. True! we entered upon the straight path, but ere we had proceeded far we were bewildered and lost our way. Wilt thou direct us hence?

F. G. N. I will: but first I must prove him, that I may know by what right he claims my care and assistance.

C. T. Lo! he hath a sign. *(Gives it.)*

'Tis well. Hath he a pass-word?

C. T. He has, and will give it. *(Gives it.)*

F. G. N. 'Tis well. Thy watch-word? S. L. Onward!

F. G. N. 'Tis well! Now depart due South. Shouldst thou reach the post of our G. in the South, he will further instruct thee. Thy watch-word still—Onward!

F. G. S.

F. G. S. Who cometh? Strangers, advance. Declare thy way and purpose.

C. T. I come with this S. L. from our worthy A. B. in the West, who commanded us to journey due East to the G. S., for light and instruction, charging us to follow the straight path; we had not journeyed far when we lost our way; but the worthy F. G. N. did hail us as we passed his post, and turned our faces hitherward. Wilt thou show us our path?

F. G. S. I will. But first I would prove this friend; I know thee well as a true man. Let the S. L. advance the sign. *(Gives it.)*

F. G. S. 'Tis well. Hath he a pass-word?

C. T. He has. F. G. S. Bid him give it me. *(Gives it.)* 'Tis well. Thy watch-word? S. L. Onward!

F. G. S. 'Tis well. Conduct him again to the straight and narrow path: thence onward due East to our G. S. Let thy wach-word be ever and ever—Onward!

G. S.

G. S. Who cometh? Advance.

C. T. G. S., I have brought a S. L. He is from the West, and hath journeyed East for instruction. He is a citizen; but he serveth.

G. S. Serveth! Whom—what?

C. T. God and his country.

G. S. 'Tis well. Such service fitly becometh the good citizen. By the authority vested in me, I give him welcome into our T., and pronounce him a worthy F. O. S. L.

(*Instruction in the Signs, etc., see page 184.*)

INVOCATION.

O GOD! Creator of all men. we invoke Thy presence. Help us as Thou didst help our fathers. Before Thee we are offenders; but spare us. We pursue Justice—Thou art the author of Justice. We seek Liberty—Thou art the giver of Liberty. We desire Peace—Thou art the God of Peace. Purify our intentions; guide our counsels, and give success to our efforts. Amen!

CLOSING.

O GOD! from Thee all wise counsels and all good works do proceed. Further Thou our counsels, prosper our works, and grant us Thy peace. Amen!

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Ceremonies of Opening.
2. Reading and approval of minutes of preceding meeting, and reports of Secretary and Treasurer.
3. Balloting for Candidates recommended at a former meeting. 4. Induction of Candidates.
5. Reading and consideration of communications from other organizations.
6. Nomination of Candidates and reference to Comm'te.
7. Propositions for the good of the O., including immediate purposes and plans, and their consideration and discussion. 8. Lecture.
9. Information concerning the condition of Members, whether any-one is sick or in distress, requiring aid and assistance.

INSTALLATION.

The officers elect, being up standing, the Com. T. shall propound to each the following questions:

Com. T. ———, having been duly elected to the office of ———, do you accept the position to which you have been assigned? Answer. I do.

Com. Brothers, are you content with the choice you have made of ——— ? Answer. **We are.**

The Com. will **then administer the following oath of office to each, beginning at the highest, and declare them duly qualified to enter upon their respective duties.**

OBLIGATION.

I, ———, **having** been elected **to the office of** ———, **for the ensuing term, do solemnly swear, in the presence of these witnesses, to support the constitution and laws of the O. S. L., to** obey all rightful **orders of my immediate G. Com. and the S. Com., and perform the duties of** ——— **to the best of my ability, so help me God. Amen!**

SECOND TEMPLE DEGREE,

—OR—

FIRST CONCLAVE DEGREE.

K. O. S. L.

K. C. W. Who cometh?

K. C. A worthy Fellow of the O. S. L., **who, having been duly elected,** desires induction into the I. T. of our O.

K. C. W. It is well. His desire shall be **gratified; but it is my duty** first to submit to him the lesson of I. T., and **then** to demand of him a solemn obligation, giving him assurance that such obligation requires of him nothing inconsistent with his duty to God, to his country, to his family, or to himself. F. S. L., with this assurance, art thou content? Answer. I am.

LESSON OF THE I. T.

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798, Drafted by Jefferson and Madison.

1. The several States composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to the General Government, but by a compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes, delegated to that Government certain definitive powers, reserving each

State to itself the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force: to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party; that this Government, created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact, among powers having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself as well of infractions as of the mode and measures of redress.

2. It is true as a general principle, and is also expressly declared, by one of the amendments to the Constitution, that the "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people;" and no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press, being delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, all lawful powers respecting the same, did of right remain, and were reserved to the States or the people; and thus was manifested their determination to retain to themselves the right of judging how far the licentiousness of speech and of the press, may be abridged, without lessening their useful freedom; and how far those abuses, which can not be separated from their use, should be tolerated, rather than the use be destroyed. and thus also they guarded against all abridgement, by the United States, of the freedom of religious opinions and exercises, and retained to themselves the right of protecting the same from all human restraint or interference; and in addition to this general principle and express declaration, another and more special provision has been made by one of the amendments to the Constitution, which expressly declares, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the

free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or the press," thereby guarding in the same sentence, and under the same words, the freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press, insomuch, that whatever violated either, throws down the sanctuary which covers the others, and, therefore, libels, falsehood, and defamation, equally with heresy and false religion, are withheld from the cognizance of Federal tribunals.

3. This O. does explicitly and peremptorily declare that it views the power of the Federal Government, as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties: as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact; as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in the case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the States, who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining, within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them.

K. C. W. F. S. L., what sayest thou to this lesson? Do its teachings command thy unqualified assent?

F. S. L. They do.

K. C. W. Present thyself, then, in the attitude in which thou didst plight thy solemn vows in the T.

OBLIGATION.

I, ————, within the precincts of this I. T., do now freely renew the vows plighted in my progress hither; I do also solemnly swear that I will faithfully keep secret every word that I may hear, and will never, by speech, sign, or intimation, reveal anything which I may see within or without this I. T., pertaining to the same, unless to a true K.; that I will never explain or exhibit any of the signs, hails, pass-words, watch-words, emblems, insignia, initial letters, nor the seal of the I. T., except to prove or communicate with a true K. I do further swear, that I will, as becometh a true K., at all times, and in all places,

to the utmost of my ability, respect, perform, and obey, each and every order, command, or request, made to or of me by the K. C. C., or other superior authority, touching any matter or thing which relates or pertains to the purposes or plans of the K. O. S. L.; and I do further swear that I will ever bear in mind the lesson of the I. T., as expounded to me in this presence, and will defend the principles therein laid down, with my life, if need be; that my sword shall ever be drawn in support of the right, and that I will never take up arms in any cause as a mercenary. I do further swear, that I will ever cherish kindly regard and fellowship toward all true K.'s every-where, and will ever aid them in the defense of their rights; that I will ever honor, cherish, and protect woman and the orphan, and especially the mother, widow, sister, or orphan of a deceased K., and will shield them from wrong, insult and oppression; and I do also swear, that I will never induct, nor consent to the induction, of any-one into the I. T., who shall not have been duly and well instructed in the T. D., nor then, until he shall have been unanimously approved by a legal conclave of K. O. S. L., nor in any place which has not been appointed and consecrated to that end by the competent authority, nor in the presence of a less number than thirteen true K.'s, each and all of whom shall consent and approve to such induction, nor until I shall have been duly authorized thereto by authority emanating from the G. C.; and, finally, I do solemnly swear, in the presence of these K.'s, my witnesses, to all and singular the foregoing, with full knowledge, and with my full assent, that the penalty declared against any violation of any part of this, my oath, shall be such as may be declared by the G. C., and approved by the S. C. of the O. S. L. Divine presence! approve my truth, and you, ye K.'s, hear and bear witness. Amen!

K. C. W. It is well. The K. C. will now conduct thee to the K. C. C.

K. C. C.

K. C. C. Who cometh? Advance.

K. C. A worthy fellow of the O. S. L., who, having taken the obligation required in this I. T., is, by command of the K. C. W., brought before thee for full induction.

K. C. C. It is well. Let him kneel in token of service to GOD and his country. * * * Rise, ——, K. O. S. L., and receive thy charge.

CHARGE.

Brother! Thy presumed worthiness hath secured thy induction into the I. T. of O. Let thy deeds approve thee worthy. Obedience, faith, truth, courage, sincerity, self-denial—these are the virtues of the true K. Make good thy vows. Honor thy GOD. Love thy country. So shalt thou discharge thy duty on earth, and prepare thyself for the beatitudes of the temple not made with hands. Hear the words of inspiration! then onward! still be thy watch-word. Onward!

K. L. (Here reads Isaiah, Chap. LIX, verses 14 to 19, inclusive.)

K. C. C. *(Instructions in the signs, etc., see page 185.)*

THIRD TEMPLE DEGREE,

—OR—

SECOND CONCLAVE DEGREE.

M. E. K. O. S. L.

M. E. K. C. W. Who cometh? Advance.

K. C. A true K., who, having been duly elected thereto, desires induction in the I—t T. of our most excellent O.

M. E. K. C. W. It is well. Let him present himself in our chosen attitude of invocation.

OBLIGATION.

I, ————, in the presence of GOD and these M. E. K.'s, do solemnly swear, that I will never reveal, or make known, directly or indirectly, anything whatever, pertaining to the M. E. K. O. S. L.; neither will I indicate, by word or intimation, anything of, or concerning the same, except to a brother thereof, whom I shall have first duly proved. I do further swear, that I will, at all times, and

in all places, yield prompt and implicit obedience, to the utmost of my ability, without remonstrance, hesitation or delay, to any and every mandate, order or request, of my immediate M. E. G. C., in all things touching the purposes of the O. S. L., and to defend the principles thereof, when assailed in my own State or country, in whatsoever capacity may be assigned to me by authority of our O.; and I do further swear, that I will never induct, or consent to the induction, of any person into the I—t T., until he shall have first been approved by at least thirteen M. E. K.'s of the local C. to which he is proposed for induction, except by express dispensation to that end from superior authority; and that I will ever faithfully keep secret every counsel of M. E. K.'s, whether in or out of C. To all and singular the foregoing, I do solemnly swear, with full knowledge, and my assent, that the penalty for any violation of any part thereof, shall be whatsoever may be decreed by the G. C. S., and approved by the S. C.—O. S. L.; so help me, GOD! Amen!

K. C. C. *(Instructions, signs, etc., see page 185.)*

BY-LAWS OF SONS OF LIBERTY.

COUNTY PARENT TEMPLES.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. A Parent County T. may be instituted by an eligible brother who shall be authorized by the Grand Council, or by the G. Com.; upon the application of five good and true men, by paying the expenses incurred for books, traveling, etc., and three dollars per day to the person who shall be designated to institute the same.

SEC. 2. Branch County T.'s may be instituted by the mode above, or by the officers of the Parent T. *Provided,* That the Grand Sig. of any Parent T., of this State, be authorized to organize subordinate temples in any township where none have been organized, subject to the constitution and rules of this order, and that until a Parent T. be organized in such county, to which said township

belongs, the secretary thereof shall report to the G. Sec. of this State.

SEC. 3. The names and location of Parent and Branches, shall not be changed without permission of the G. Council, or without written consent of the G. Sec.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. Every T. in the State of Indiana shall meet twice in every month, and oftener if they shall deem proper, and shall be opened as near as may be at the time prescribed by the Rules of Order.

SEC. 2. Special meetings may be held, upon the call of G. S., or when requested to do so by five members of the T., general notice of such meeting to be given as far as possible.

SEC. 3. At any regular or special meeting, at which the first and second officers shall be absent, a qualified degree member may be chosen to preside.

SEC. 4. Each T. is empowered to designate what number, not less than five, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The elective officers of the Parent T.'s shall be—M. E. K. C.; M. E. K. C. W.; M. E. K. Sec.; M. E. K. Treas.; M. E. K. Lecturer of the V.; and M. E. K. Rep. to G. C. The officers shall be appointed M. E. K. Cond.; M. E. K. Marshal: M. E. K. W., T.; M. E. K. W., O. C.

SEC. 2. The elective and appointed officers of a Branch County T., shall be those designated in the ritual of the order.

SEC. 3. The election of all officers shall take place annually, on or not to exceed two weeks previous to the 22nd day of February in each year.

SEC. 4. At the same time and place the Parent T. shall elect two Representatives to the G. Council, and one additional Representative for every one thousand members in said county.

SEC. 5. All elections shall be by ballot, and a majority of all the votes given be necessary to a choice. *Provided,*

That whenever there shall be but one candidate, the election may be by *viva voce*.

SEC. 6. Any elected or appointed officer who shall absent himself from the Temple for three successive stated meetings, unless such absence be satisfactorily accounted for, shall thereby vacate his office, and the vacancy shall be filled by special election, and the member so elected or appointed to fill such vacancy shall, if he serve under such election or appointment, receive all the honors of the station as though he had served the full term.

SEC. 7. All elective officers shall continue to serve until their respective successors are duly elected and qualified.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. The duties of the G. S. and M. E. K. C. shall be— 1st. To preside at all meetings of the Temple at which they may be present, and open and close the same in due form; to preserve strict order and decorum, and enforce the Constitution and Laws of the Order.

2nd. To decide all questions of order, subject to appeal, by two members, from his decision to the Temple.

3rd. To give the casting vote on all questions before the Temple, in which there may be an equal division of members, except in the election of officers and appeals from his decision.

4th. To inspect all ballots on application for membership, degrees, or certificates, and report thereon to the Temple. 5th. To sign all orders drawn on the Treasurer, for the payment of such sums of money as may from time to time, be voted by the Temple, and also such documents as may require his signature to authenticate them 6th. To appoint the officers herein before specified, at the time of his installation, and to fill vacancies in the same whenever they may occur.

7th. To appoint, at the same time, such standing committees as the Temple may prescribe, and such other committees, from time to time, as may be required by the Constitution and Laws, or directed by the Temple.

8th. To see that a brother is visited immediatley upon being advised of his illness or distress, and to continue to do so at least once per week, during such illness or distress, and see that he is duly provided with attendants.

9th. To install their successors in office.

SEC. 2. Duties of the M. E. K. Sec.

1st. To keep, in suitable books for that purpose, the accounts of the Temple, and the members thereof.

2nd To receive all moneys due the Temple, pay the same to the Treasurer, and take his receipt therefor.

3rd. To make out all notices that may be required for special meetings, attendance upon the sick, or distressed.

4th. To furnish the Temple, on the night preceding the expiration of each term of three months, a list of the members thereof, who are delinquent, with the amount due by each. 5th. To make out, at the expiration of each term of three months, a report to the Grand Council, in such form as said Grand Council shall direct, which he shall read in open Temple, and record in a book to be kept for that purpcse; and when duly approved by the Temple and signed by the proper officers, he shall forward the same to the Grand Secretary, which shall be done within ten days from the expiration of each term of three months.

6th. To enroll in a book, provided for that purpose, the names of the members of the Temple, age, occupation, and residence thereof, and the degrees taken by each; noting from time to time, in a proper marginal column, the fact of death, suspension, expulsion, or withdrawal, as the same may occur.

7th. To attend the committees appointed to audit the books and accounts of the Temple, and render such assistance as may be necessary.

8th To deliver up to his successor in office, all books and papers appertaining to his office, which may be in his possession. 9th. Generally to do and perform such other acts as may be reqired of him by the Temple, and by the laws and usages of the order. He shall receive for his services such compensation as the Temple may determine.

10th. To keep accurate minutes of the Temple in a book for that purpose.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer—

1st. To receive from the Secretary all moneys due the T. 2nd. To pay all orders drawn upon the funds in his hands, when properly attested.

3rd. To have his books and accounts ready for settlement at the expiration of his term of office, and open for inspection by the officer of the T., or a committee appointed for that purpose, at all times.

4th. To deliver to his successor in office, at the expiration of his term of office, resignation thereof, or removal therefrom, all moneys remaining in his hands, and all books and papers pertaining to his office. To give bond with two sureties, conditioned upon the faithful discharge of his duties, as the T. may require.

SEC. 2. The terms of three months shall commence February 22nd of each year.

ARTICLE VI.—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. S. L.— . Any white male person, of good moral character, above the age of eighteen years, being proposed by one, and vouched for by two members in good standing, may receive the S. L—— lesson of this order.

SEC. 2. When the name of a candidate is proposed for membership, it shall be referred to a committee of three, appointed by the G. S.; said committee to report on such proposition at the next regular meeting of the Temple, and no balloting for membership to take place until the committee report as aforesaid.

SEC. 3. First degree members must be advanced in accordance with provisions laid down in the ritual of the second and third degrees.

SEC. 4. All candidates for degrees must be balloted for. One negative vote lays the application over one week; two negative votes for three months; three negative votes dispose of it finally, unless reconsidered.

SEC. 5. A member changing his residence, wishing to

withdraw from one T. and unite with another, shall be entitled to receive a certificate of membership, which, being filed with his application, if found worthy, shall be transferred, by vote of the T., at his new residence.

SEC. 6. No T. is permitted to receive applications from persons not residents of the county in which the T. is located, and all applications must be made to the T. nearest to the applicant's residence. *Res. of G. C.*

SEC. 7. An expelled member can only be reinstated by the consent of the Temple from which he was expelled.

SEC. 8. If a person is proposed for membership and elected, and previous to initiation the Temple obtains information of bad conduct, it may refuse to initiate.

ARTICLE VII. FEES AND DUES.

SECTION 1. The fee for the first or branch T. degree, shall be one dollar; the fee for the second shall be one dollar and fifty cents; and the fee for the third shall be two dollars and fifty cents.

SEC. 2. The monthly dues for each and every member, shall not be less than ten nor more than fifty cents.

LAWS OF GENERAL APPLICATION.

1st. It shall be the duty of every member of this order, when possessed of any information touching the improper demeanor of a brother, to file written complaint with his immediate G. S. or C., and shall make it known to no other person, and it shall be the duty of such officer specifying the charge in regular meeting of T., withholding name of the informant, appoint committee of five to examine and report upon such charge, and, if upon report of committee, such charge shall be sustained by said T., then said accused shall be notified to appear, and shall be regularly tried by the T., said committee conducting the prosecution, and accused shall have counsel in his behalf, witnesses may be examined, and testimony of those not members of the order may be taken, but not *ex parte*.

Upon fair hearing the T. shall decide upon his guilt and punishment, which shall not be higher than expulsion from the order. The various grades of punishment shall

be reprimand, suspension for a time, and expulsion. 2nd. It shall be the duty of all T.'s, in case of expulsion of a member or members, to notify the G. Sec. by letter; and it shall be the duty of said G. Sec. to notify all T.'s in this jurisdiction of said fact.

Visiting Brothers.

3rd. It shall be the duty of the presiding officer of each and every T., whenever necessary, to appoint two competent brothers an examining committee for the evening; for no visiting brother can be admitted to the T., unless he shall be known, recognized by the officers, vouched for by a brother, or proved by the committee so appointed.

Payment of Assessments.

4th. It shall be the duty of each and every P. T. in the State, to remit to the G. Sec. such amounts as the G. Council shall levy against them, promptly, upon the application of the G. Sec., and in case of failure so to do for a period of three months, such P. T. shall forfeit their organization. We recommend the Constitution of the Illini, for all public clubs; and the rules of order, adopted by the G. Council, for the government of all subordinate T.'s in Indiana. 5th. Any additional by-laws made by each County Temple, not inconsistent with the laws of the Grand Council, by a two-thirds vote of the members of such temple, four weeks notice being given therefor.

RULES OF ORDER.

1st. When the presiding officer takes the chair, the officers and members shall take their respective seats; and at the sound of the gavel there shall be a general silence, under the penalty of a public reprimand.

2nd. The business of the annual meetings shall be taken up in the following order:

Temple opened; Officers' roll called; Minutes of last stated and intervening meetings read and passed upon; Certificates of members; Reports of Temples; Reports of Committees; Unfinished business; New business.

3rd. The presiding officer shall preserve order and decorum, and pronounce the decision of the Temple on all

subjects; he may speak to points of order in preference to other members, rising from his seat for that purpose; he shall decide questions of order without debate, unless entertaining doubts on the point, subject to an appeal to the Temple by any two members, on which appeal no member shall speak more than once.

4th. No member shall disturb another in his speech, unless to call him to order, nor stand up to interrupt him, nor when a member is speaking, pass between him and the chair, or leave the hall.

5th. Every member when he speaks shall rise and respectfully address the chair, and when he has finished shall sit down. Members speaking shall confine themselves to the question under debate, and avoid all personality or indecorous language, as well as any reflection upon the Temple or its members.

6th. If two or more members rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide which is entitled to the floor.

7th. No member shall speak until he is recognized by the chair. 8th. No member shall speak more than once on the same subject or question, until all the members, wishing to speak, shall have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission of the T.

9th. If a member, while speaking, be called to order by the chair, he shall cease speaking, and take his seat until the question of order is determined, and permission is given him to proceed.

10th. No motion shall be subject to debate until it shall have been seconded, and stated by the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing if desired by any member.

11th. When a question is before the T., no motion shall be received except for adjournment—the previous question—to lie on the table—to postpone indefinitely—to postpone to a certain time—to divide—to commit or amend; which motions shall severally have preference in the order herein arranged.

12th. On the call of five members, the previous question shall be put. The previous question having been or-

dered, all further amendments and debates shall be precluded, but the amendments that have been previously offered shall be voted upon in their order before the main question. 13th. When a blank is to be filled, and different sums, numbers, or times shall be proposed, the question shall first be taken upon the highest sum or number, and longest or latest time.

14th. No motion for reconsideration shall be received unless moved by a member who voted in the majority in the first instance. 15th. Any member may excuse himself from serving on any committee at the time of his appointment, if he is then a member of one other committee.

16th. The person first named on a committee shall act as chairman thereof until another is chosen by themselves.

17th. The consequences of a measures may be reprobated in strong terms; but to arraign the motives of those who propose or advocate it, is a personality and against order. 18th. While the chair is putting a question or addressing the Temple, or whilst any other member is speaking, no member shall walk about or leave the Temple, or entertain private discourse.

19th. No motion can be made by one member while another is speaking; and no motion can be made without rising and addressing the chair.

20th. The chair, or any member, doubting the decision of the question, may call for a division of the Temple, and a count of the affirmative and negative vote.

21st. All reports of committees shall be made in writing. 22nd. Any member has a right to protest, and to have his protest spread upon the journal.—*C. M.*

23rd. Motions for adjournment, the previous question, to lie on the table, and to postpone indefinitely, shall be put without debate.

24th. Any of these rules may be dispensed with by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

CONSTITUTION OF THE GRAND COUNCIL OF SONS OF LIBERTY, STATE OF INDIANA.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. This body derives and exercises its power and authority from and by virtue of authority vested in it by the Supreme Grand Council of the United States.

SEC. 2. The members of this G. C. shall consist of Representatives duly elected and commissioned by the various County Temples. Each County Temple shall be entitled to two Representatives; and for each one thousand members one additional Representative.

SEC. 3. The legislative functions of this body shall be vested in such Representatives duly chosen and commissioned, and the elective officers of this G. C.

SEC. 4. All such Representatives and Military Officers, so accredited, shall be entitled to receive the sign of the G. C. SEC. 5. Representatives shall be elected at any regular meeting, prior to the 22nd day of February, in each year, and hold their office during the term of one year, or during the pleasure of the County T.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The elective officers of this G. C. shall consist of the following, who shall be elected at or prior to the annual meeting, held on the 22nd day of February, in each year, viz.: G. C.; Dep. G. C.; G. Sec.; G. Treas.; G. C. to S. C.; one Maj. Gen'l for each military district, prescribed by law. SEC. 2. The appointed officers of this G. body shall be, one Grand Marshal, one Grand Conductor, one Grand Chaplain, one Grand Warden of the Council, one Grand Warden of the O. C.

SEC. 3. The members of the G. Com. staff, and all military officers above the rank of Colonel, shall be *ex officio* members of this G. C., and entitled to the sign and to participate in its deliberations. SEC. 4. When upon a call for a vote by counties, all shall be excluded save the duly elected Representatives, and in case of a tie vote the G. Com. presiding shall give the casting vote.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. This G. C. shall have the sole right to determine its own membership, and may exclude any-one, representative or otherwise, who shall be convicted of indecorous deportment, or any dishonorable act. *Provided,* That no punishment higher than reprimand shall be inflicted, expulsion from this Order being reserved to the County Temples.

SEC. 2. There shall be chosen, annually, the Grand Commander, and two additional members of this body, delegates to the S.C., to whom the Grand Secretary shall issue certificates of election, with the seal of the Council. —*Law of S. C.* SEC. 3. The meetings of this G. C., regular and special, shall be held at such time and place as may be fixed by law.

SEC. 4. All elections shall be by ballot, and a majority of all the votes given shall be necessary to constitute a choice. When there are more than two candidates for any office, the lowest of such candidates, at each ballot, after the first, shall be dropped, and all votes that may be given for such candidate or candidates thereafter, shall not be counted. In the event of a tie between two candidates for the same office, for two successive ballotings, the election shall be decided by lot.

ARTICLE IV.—DUTIES OF GRAND OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The G. C. shall have and exercise a general supervision of the Order in the State of Indiana. He shall preside at all meetings of the Grand Council, at which he may be present, preserve order, and cause the Constitution and Laws to be strictly observed. His decision on all points not provided for in the Constitution or General Laws, shall be conclusive, unless reversed by the Grand Council of Indiana, or the S. C. of the United States, upon appeal thereto. He shall give the casting vote, in case of an equal division, upon all questions arising in the Grand Council, except on appeals from his own decision; and in all elections of officers, he shall be entitled to vote only as other members. He shall not be en-

titled to parcipitate in any discussions in the Grand Council, except in committee of the whole, or upon questions of order and appeals from his decision. He shall sign all orders drawn on the Grand Treasurer, and all other documents which may require his signature. He shall fill all official vacancies not otherwise provided for. He shall appoint all committees, except when the nomination and appointment thereof shall be reserved by the Grand Council. He shall have power and authority to grant dispensations for conferring degrees in the institution of new Temples, and for the purpose of qualifying officers thereof, during the first six months; and for all other matters unprovided for, wherein immediate action is necessary. He shall have power to call special meetings of the Grand Council, or of any subordinate Temple, whenever he may deem it necessary for the good of the Order so to do. He shall, from time to time, give information, etc.

SEC. 2. The Dep. G. C. shall assist the G. C., and in his absence perform his duties.

SEC. 3. The Grand Secretary shall keep a journal of the proceedings of this body, and money accounts, shall receive all moneys and pay the same to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor. He shall attest all dispensations granted, and commissions isued, by the G. Commander. He shall transmit an annual report of the state of the order in Indiana, to the S. C. of the United States, in such form as the said S. C. may direct. He shall receive all documents for the G. C., and immediately submit the same to the G. Commander. He shall, under the supervision of the G. Com., conduct the correspondence of the G. C. He shall, when so directed, summon the Representatives to attend its special meetings. He shall prepare and procure the signatures of the officers to all charters that may be granted by the G. C. He shall, whenever notified, attend any committee of the Grand Council, and furnish such official papers and documents as may be required. He shall have the custody of the Grand Seal, and perform such other duties as may be prescribed

in this Constitution, or the Laws of the Grand Council. He shall receive for his services, annually, the sum of eight hundred dollars; and shall give such bond and security for the faithful performance of his duties, as the Grand Council may require.

SEC. 4. The G. Treasurer shall have charge of the funds, and all other property or evidence of the title belonging to, or held in trust by the Grand Council, which may be placed in his hands. He shall keep correct accounts of all moneys which he may receive from the G. Secretary, and from all other sources, and pay all orders drawn upon the funds in his hands, by the Grand Commander, when attested by the G. Secretary. He shall, whenever notified, attend any committee of the Grand Council, and furnish such books and papers in his possession as may be required. At the expiration of his term of office, or after resignation thereof, or removal therefrom, he shall make full settlement with the Finance Committee, and deliver to his successor in office, all moneys, books, bonds, vouchers and documents, and property, belonging to, or held in trust by the Grand Council, which may be in his possession. Before entering upon his duties, he shall give such bond and security as may be required by the Grand Council.

SEC. 5. Other appointed officers shall perform the ordinary duties of their offices, as prescribed by custom or law. SEC. 6. Any amendment to this Constitution may be made at any reglar meeting of this G. C., by giving one day's notice, in writing, and receiving a majority vote of the members present. SEC. 7. All elective officers shall take the following prescribed oath of office before entering upon their duties, viz.:

Official Oath.

I, ———, having been elected by ——— to the office of ——— in ———, do, in the presence of GOD and these witnesses, solemnly swear to maintain the Constitution and Laws of this Order; obey all rightful orders emanating from superior authority, and to perform the duties

which have been devolved upon me, as ———, to the best of my ability, so help me GOD.

BY-LAWS AND RULES OF ORDER.

1st. When the presiding officer takes the chair, the officers and members shall take their respective seats; and at the sound of the gavel there shall be a general silence, under the penalty of a public reprimand.

2nd. The business of the annual meetings shall be taken up in the following order:

Temple opened; Officers' roll called; Minutes of last stated and intervening meetings read and passed upon; Certificates of members; Reports of Temples; Reports of Committees; Unfinished business; New business.

3rd. The presiding officer shall preserve order and decorum, and pronounce the decision of the Temple on all subjects; he may speak to points of order in preference to other members, rising from his seat for that purpose; he shall decide questions of order without debate, unless entertaining doubts on the point, subject to an appeal to the Temple by any two members, on which appeal no member shall speak more than once.

4th. No member shall disturb another in his speech, unless to call him to order, nor stand up to interrupt him, nor when a member is speaking, pass between him and the chair, nor leave the hall.

5th. Every member when he speaks shall rise and respectfully address the chair, and when he has finished he shall sit down. Members speaking shall confine themselves to the question under debate, and avoid all personality or indecorous language, as well as any reflection upon the Temple or its members.

6th. If two or more members rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide which is entitled to the floor.

7th. No member shall speak until he has been recognized by the chair. 8th. No member shall speak more than once on the same subject or question, untill all the members wishing to speak, shall have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission of the

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10th. No motion shall be subject to debate until it shall have been seconded, and stated by the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing if desired by any member.

11th. When a question is before the T., no motion shall be received except for adjournment—the previous question—to lie on the table—to postpone indefinitely—to postpone to a certain time—to divide—to commit or amend; which motions shall severally have preference in the order herein arranged.

12th. On the call of five members, the previous question shall be put. The previous question having been ordered, all further amendments and debates shall be precluded, but the amendments that have been previously offered, shall be voted upon in their order before the main question. 13th. When a blank is to be filled, and different sums, numbers, or times shall be proposed, the question shall first be taken upon the highest sum or number, and longest or latest time.

14th. No motion for reconsideration shall be received unless moved by a member who voted in the majority in the first instance. 15th. Any member may excuse himself from serving on any committee at the time of his appointment, if he is then a member of one other committee.

16th. The person first named on a committee shall act as chairman thereof until another is chosen by themselves. 17th. The consequences of a measure may be reprobated in strong terms; but to arraign the motives of those who propose or advocate it, is a personality and against order. 18th. While the chair is putting a question or addressing the Temple, or whilst any other member is speaking, no member shall walk about or leave the Temple, or entertain private discourse.

19th. No motion can be made by one member while another is speaking; and no motion can be made without

rising and addressing the chair. 20th. The chair, or any member, doubting the decision of the question, may call for a division of the Temple, and a count of the affirmative and negative vote. 21st. All reports of committees shall be made in writing. 22nd. Should any committee be appointed at one session of the Grand Council, to report at the next succeeding session, it shall be the duty of such committee to report in writing, even though they be not Representatives. 23rd. Any member has a right to protest, and to have his protest spread upon the journal.—*C. M.* 24th. Motions for adjournment, the previous question, to lie on the table, and to postpone indefinitely, shall be put without debate. 25th. Any of these rules may be dispensed with by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS

—OF THE—

SUPREME COUNCIL, SONS OF LIBERTY.

SECTION 1. This organization shall be known as the S. L. SEC. 2. Its object and purposes are the maintenance of constitutional freedom and State rights, as recognized and established by the founders of our Republic. SEC. 3. The system of government of this order shall be vested in a Supreme Council of the States, a Grand Council of each State, and Parent and Branch Temples of each county. SEC. 4. The officers of the Supreme Council shall consist of a Supreme Commander, Secretary of State of the Order, Treasurer, and Clerk of the Council, who shall be annually elected by the Supreme Council, on the twenty-second day of February, and shall hold their offices until their successors are duly elected and qualified. SEC. 5.. The Supreme Council shall be composed of the Grand Commanders of the several States and two delegates, who shall be annually elected by the Grand Councils of the respective States. Each delegate shall be entitled to one vote, and when a full delegation is not in attendance, those present may cast the entire vote of

the State, and in all cases of a tie the presiding officer shall have the casting vote. SEC. 6. The Supreme Council shall meet on the twenty-second day of February, of each year, at such place as may be designated.

SEC. 7. The Supreme Commander or three Grand Commanders of State, may call special sessions of the Supreme Council, at such times and places as he or they may deem expedient. SEC. 8. The Supreme Commander shall take an oath to observe and maintain the principles of the order, before entering upon the duties of his office, said oath to be prescribed by law. He shall be the presiding officer to the Supreme Council, and charged with the execution of all laws enacted by it. He shall be commander-in-chief of all military forces belonging to the order, in the various States, when called into actual service. He shall deliver a message to each meeting of the Supreme Council, showing the condition of the order, and such recommendations as its interest may demand.

SEC. 9. The Deputy Supreme Commander, in case of death, absence, or resignation of the Supreme Commander, shall exercise all the powers and perform all the duties pertaining to said office; shall take the same oath of office, and be chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs.

SEC. 10. The Secretary of State of the Order shall be the chairman of the Committee on the State of the Order; shall conduct all official correspondence of the Supreme Council, and be the medium of communication between the Supreme and State Councils; he shall ascertain and report at each annual meeting of the Supreme Council, the condition of the order in each State, and make such recommendations as he may deem proper.

SEC. 11. The Treasurer shall be under regulations as may be prescribed by law; shall be the custodian of all funds belonging to the Supreme Council; shall pay all orders drawn upon him by the Clerk and countersigned by the Supreme Commander, or chairman of the Auditing Committee, and make, at each meeting, reports showing the financial condition of the order, and such recommen-

dations as he may deem expedient.

SEC. 12. All elections shall be by ballot, and a majority of all the votes cast shall be necessary to a choice; *Provided*, That where there is but one candidate, the election may be *viva voce*. SEC. 13. That the Supreme Commander administer the oath to all officers; and Councilors take the oath at the Clerk's desk.

GENERAL LAWS.

SECTION 1. A quorum of the Supreme Council shall consist of a majority of the States, in which State Councils shall have been established.

SEC. 2. Delegates from Territorial Councils shall be entitled to a seat and a right to speak in the Supreme Council, but no vote. SEC. 3. The ordinance or constitution of the Supreme Council shall be read at the opening of each session, and to all new delegates.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the Clerk to count and announce all votes of the Council, as well when taken by count, as by States or ballot.

CONDITION OF THE ORDER AND REVENUES.

SEC. 5. The Secretaries of the various State Councils are required to report to the Secretary of the Supreme Council, during the month of January of each year, for his report at the annual sessions, the number of brothers in the order, in their respective States, and also the condition of their treasuries.

SEC. 6. The Treasurer of each State Council shall pay over to the Treasurer of the Supreme Council, in January of each year, such sums as may be assessed upon them by the Supreme Council, based upon estimates of the Finance Committee. SEC. 7. The Standing Committee upon Finance shall be nominated by the Supreme Commander, and confirmed by a vote of two-thirds of the Supreme Council at each annual session; and the two members unprovided for in the Supreme Ordinance, of each of the Committees on the State of the Order and Finance, shall be appointed and confirmed in the like manner.

These committees shall report and recommend at each annual and extra session.

EXTENSION OF THE ORDER.

SEC. 8. For the purpose of extending the Order into States and Territories, where it does not now exist, it is hereby declared that full authority for this purpose, is vested in the Supreme Commander, or duly qualified Supreme Councilors in the following manner, viz.; They may, at the instance of five good men, in any State or Territory, institute County Temples, and when a sufficient number of such County Temples have been instituted, they may establish a State Council, the duly elected delegates of which shall be admitted to this Supreme Council upon an equality with the organized States or Territories.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

SEC. 9. It shall be the duty of the Finance Committee at each meeting, to audit all accounts which shall be presented, and to examine the books and accounts of the Clerk and Treasurer, and report to the Supreme Council.

MILEAGE AND PER DIEM.

SEC. 10. That for the purpose of defraying the expenses of delegates to the Supreme Council, it is hereby left to each State Grand Council to fix, determine, and pay in the manner and to the extent that such State may determine. SEC. 11. That the Treasurer of the Supreme Council shall, before entering upon the duties of his office, take the oath required, and give bond in a sum double the amount of funds likely to come into his hands.

SEC. 12. The Clerk of the Supreme Council shall keep an accurate journal of all its proceedings, draw orders on the Treasurer for all claims that are presented and properly audited by the Finance Committee; collect all dues from the States, receipt for and pay the same over to the Treasurer, and preserve and keep all records and papers belonging to the Council.

SEC. 13. All laws and resolutions of the Supreme Council shall be signed by the Clerk, countersigned by the Supreme Commander, and attested by the seal of the Order.

SEC. 14. The Standing Committees of the Supreme Council shall consist of a Committee on Finance, a Committee on the State of the Order, and a Committee on Military Affairs.

SEC. 15. Delegates to the Supreme Council, before entering upon the duties of their office, shall take an oath to support and maintain the principles of the order.

SEC. 16. The government of the order in the States shall be vested in a Grand Council, composed of not less than one delegate from each county, and a Grand Commander and Deputy Grand Commander, elected by said Councils, in such manner as they may provide.

SEC. 17. The Grand Commanders shall be the presiding officers of the Grand Councils of the States, execute all laws passed by such Councils, and shall be commanders-in-chief of the military forces of their respective States. SEC. 18. This Constitution shall be the Supreme Law of the Order, and may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the Supreme Council.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GRAND COUNCIL,

SONS OF LIBERTY, STATE OF INDIANA.

At their Meeting held in Indianapolis, Feb'y 16th and 17th, 1864.

ADDRESS OF GRAND COMMANDER HARRISON H. DODD.

COUNCILORS: For the honor you have done me, in fixing a time to hear my views and suggestions in relation to this organization, and general matters, I feel duly sensible, and am only sorry that I am so poorly prepared to meet your expectations.

We are organized for a high and noble purpose, the erection and consecration of Temples to the service of true Republicanism; altars upon which we may lay our hands and hearts with the invocation, "GOD of our Fathers." Well may we call upon the GOD of truth, justice, and human rights, in our efforts to preserve what the great wisdom and heroic acts of our fathers achieved.

This, my friends, is no small undertaking—requiring

patience, fortitude, patriotism, and a self-sacrificing disposition from each and all, and may require us to hazard life itself, in support and defense of those great cardinal principles which are the foundation stones of the State and Federal Governments. It is the boast of those who, for long centuries, have fostered and kept alive brotherly love and mutual protection, among, not only the civilized, but in some degree the semi-barbarous nations of the earth, that they have attained now apparent great results, through trials, tribulations, long suffering, and persecutions. So, too, the worshipers of GOD, be they Jew or Gentile, claim to more distinctly merit an identity and name, in consequence of the imminent perils and innumerable conflicts, which have been thrown in their way to impede their progress. So may we, and doubtless will, point with pride to our present troubles, in the future, to prove our great worth. This great brotherhood is entitled now to the respect of mankind, for the part it enacted in the period anterior to the Revolution of 1776. Through it the Declaration was made, and the Independence of the States achieved. This alone would endear it to every patriot heart, to every lover of republican institutions; if its history should stop here, when its operations were suspended, it were certainly enough—but still more glorious, superlatively brilliant, will be its history, when reinstated as it now is, it shall restore to this great people their *fireside rights, a pure elective franchise, and an untrammeled judiciary;* when fanatical usurpers and would-be tyrants and dictators are swept away with the rubbish that has been thrown to the surface in these extraordinary times; when once more the governing principle shall be the will of the governed expressly declared; when no more power shall be exercised than is or has been derived from the people, the legitimate source of all power.

The great principle now in issue, is the centralization of power, or the keeping it diffused in State sovereignty, as it is by the organic laws, constituting States and forming the General Government.

The creation of an empire or republic, or the reconstruction of the old Union, by brute force, is simply impossible. The liberation of four million blacks, and putting them on an equality with the whites, is a scheme which can only bring its authors into shame, contempt, and confusion. No results of this enterprise will ever be realized beyond the army of occupation.

It is not the part of wisdom, for those who have in hand the noble work of preserving the States from ruin, and the races from intermixture, to base their action upon any incident or accident, or upon any supposed termination of our present troubles. He who changes his views upon victory or defeat, is but a poor soldier in a long campaign against the mass of error, corruption, and crime, now thickly spread over and through the body politic, and to an alarming extent influencing the action of the Americans.

But, shall we stand aloof from political alliances, and seek in our own way to assist in the needful reformation? Shall we rely entirely upon ourselves? By no means—when the great end in view can be in the least degree promoted, we should not hesitate to lend our aid and support; but care should be taken that no uncertain path, or devious ways, be entered upon.

Let me speak plain—our political affinity is unquestionably with the Democratic party, and if that organization goes boldly to the work, standing firmly upon its time-honored principles, maintaining unsullied its integrity, it is safe to presume that it will receive the moral and physical support of this wide extended association.

The great boast of the Democratic party has been, that it has met and beaten back the party of centralization, since the formation of the Union; and, although it has never ordained any principles in regard to the status of the inferior races, it has at all times strictly adhered to the doctrine of making it a purely local matter, and leaving to the States, by the exercise of their reserved powers, to regulate it as a domestic institution; the maintainance of this doctrine, in its intendment and general oper-

ations, must be satisfactory to the entire brotherhood. Let no-one say we will thus be subservient to a party; rather will we be subservient to the demands of our country, and the cause in which we have enlisted.

There need be no apprehension that a war of coercion will be continued by a Democratic Administration, if placed in control of public affairs, for with the experience of the present Administration, which has for three years, with the unlimited resources of eighteen millions of people, in men, money, and ships, won nothing but its own disgrace, and probable downfall, it is not likely that another, if it values public estimation, will repeat the experiment.

Neither have we any reason to fear that the Democratic party, in shaping the canvass of 1864, will go out of its way to insult five hundred thousand of those whose votes are necessary to its success; let us rather incline to the belief that all the elements of opposition can and will be united, with no sacrifice of principle or manhood, to crush out this one now in power.

A mere change of men will avail nothing, without corresponding action. Men, statesmen, and executive officers, exhort people to patience and long suffering, and while condemning Federal usurpation, yield obedience to all its demands. In the estimation of the membership of this organization, such men and such governors, be they of what party they may, must be regarded as enemies to good government. I trust I may be pardoned if I give a few examples to illustrate: If this people can-not excuse the Federal Executive for exercising undue and unwarranted power, toward breaking down their rights, derived from the force of their State Governments, how shall they palliate the offense of Governor Seymour, in violating his obligations in allowing it to be done in the great State of New York? This Governor becomes accessory after the fact, and is alike worthy of public condemnation.

Do you tell me it is a necessity to thus subserve the Washington usurpers? In GOD'S name do not tell me that it is a necessity to be forsworn, to violate the plainest

provisions of the Constitution, to consign a people to a slavish subserviency to the will of one man. You may tell me that it is rather a necessity to give up place, aye, to give up life itself. Because the punishment of these crimes against law and the people, being impeachment, and lodged with legislative bodies, that will not execute it, they are nevertheless offenses, and will be so adjudged hereafter, when heathy restraints of law shall be demanded to protect life and property.

The Democracy of Indiana, too, has made a culprit of itself. A Senator, by the mean and contemptible action of a majority of the United States Senate, was wrongfully and maliciously expelled from his seat. The Legislature plainly acquiesced in this insult to the State and the party by refusing to return him again. Again, our cherished Vallandigham resides in exile, not so much by the power of Lincoln, as the demands of those who are controlling, or did control the Democratic party in that State.

These things are of the past, shall they be repeated in the future? The great fear is, that they will be, so long as this bugbear of civil war shall continue to horrify otherwise sensible people. My advice to you is, look well to the selection of men, upon whom you devolve the functions of leaders. This is no time to put forward men who take counsel of their fears.

Will the exercise of an undoubted right, an inalienable, an inherited, a constitutional right, lead to conflict? Will opposition to usurpers, to dictators, to tyrants, who have broken down the safeguards of life and property, lead to it? Then there is no escape, save in dishonor, and the most potent argument in favor of the permanency and spread of this association lies in the fact, that there are men who desire place and those who desire peace and quiet upon such terms. But who will bring conflict? Who will commence hostilities? Certainly not those who are merely claiming their rights. The conflict must then be commenced by those who are in the wrong. Must a people, therefore, continue to abase themselves, to keep those

whom they have placed in authority from committing outrages upon them? This is the strange logic of the times.

This organization is based upon the principle of conserving the government inaugurated by the people, and bound to oppose all usurpations of power. Now it so happens that in the seventh year of its re-establishment, we find our State and Federal Government overturned. Yes, 'tis true. Lincoln's Government is an usurpation—Morton's Government is an usurpation. Now I know not what others may do, but for myself, I am willing the ballot box shall decide who shall be the officers, under the law and Constitution; but I shall obey them only so far as they exercise their delegated powers. I will not agree to remain passive, under usurped authority, affecting my rights and liberties.

Now, if the present condition can be changed by the ballot, all will rejoice; but how will the ballot decide anything, when the dominant party of the country appeal from it to force? No one will enter the contest to overturn this party, more cheerfully than I. But suppose it re-elects itself, will it return to the Constitution and laws? Are all those who do not agree with them to enter upon that delightful future, which has been so often and boastfully predicted by the Executive of this State, and many of his appointees? That future to you and to me is death, confiscation of our property, starvation of our children, the forced marriage of our heirs to their new-made colored brethren in arms.

If these men be prolonged in power, they must either consent to be content to exercise the power delegated by the people, or by the gods they must prove themselves physically the stronger. This position is demanded by every true member of this fraternity, honor, life—aye, more than life, the virtue of our wives and daughters demand it; and if you intend to make this organization of any practical value, you will do one of two things—either take steps to work the political regeneration of the party with which we are affiliated, up to this standard, or relying

upon ourselves, determine at once our plan of action.

It might be asked now, shall men be coerced to go to war, in a mere crusade to free negroes, and territorial aggrandizement? Shall our people be taxed to carry forward a war of emancipation, miscegenation, confiscation, or extermination?

It would be the happiest day of my life, if I could stand up with any considerable portion of my fellow men and say, "Not another dollar, not another man, for this nefarious war." But the views and suggestions of exiled Vallandigham will be of greater consequence to you than my own. He says to you the only issue now is, *peace or war*. To the former he is committed, and can not, will not retract. He tells us not to commit ourselves to men. As well as he loves, and much as he admires the little hero McClellan, he would have the Chicago Convention act with untrammeled freedom. He reasons that the spring campaign will be more disastrous to the Federal armies than those heretofore made. That by July the increased call for troops, the certainty of a prolonged war, the rottenness of the financial system, defection of border State troops, spread and adoption of the principles of this organization, will all tend to bring conservative men to one mind. He anticipates that the deliberations of the Chicago Convention will no doubt be harmonious, and that its nominees will carry a majority of the adhering States --thinks that Government, by the one-tenth proclamation, will vote all seceded States, and overcome us; and says if this Northern people do not inaugurate the men thus duly and legally chosen, they will be wanting in that manhood and spirit that should characterize freemen.

He wishes it distinctly understood, although pressed from various quarters, that he will not consent to the use of his name before the convention for a nomination, but thinks, in case we succeed, that he would be entitled to have a place in the cabinet, (may he get it, and not say like General Taylor, that he has "no friends to reward and no enemies to punish.") He counsels late action on the part

of State conventions; thinks Ohio is called too soon—advising that Indiana should have hers, say first of June. He finally judges that the Washington power will not yield up its power, until it is taken from them by an indignant people, *by force of arms!* He intimates that parties—men and interests—will divide into two classes, and that a conflict will ensue for the mastery.

"*Sons of Liberty,*" *Arise!* The day is rapidly approaching in the which you can make good your promises to your country. The furnace is being heated that will prove your sincerity—the hour for daring deeds is not distant—let the watchword be onward! And let the result bless mankind with Republican Government, in this, our beloved land, to their latest posterity.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM,

Drawn by Lambdin P. Milligan, and sent to this Meeting of the Grand Council for Adoption.

Your Committee on Platform, having had the subject of a platform to govern the actions of the various Councils of the State of Indiana, beg leave to report the following, which they recommend be adopted by the Grand Council.

WHEREAS; A crisis has arisen in the history of the Federal Government in relation to the rights of the States, whether delegated or reserved; the manifest usurpations of undelegated powers by the President; and utter disregard of all Constitutional guarantees of liberty, looking constantly to the subjugation of the States and the establishment of a Centralized Despotism, already fill us with alarm for the cause of civil liberty in America.

AND WHEREAS; It is due to those who differ with us in our notions of right, as well as in the mode and measure of redress, to know where we stand, we propose to declare to them frankly our convictions and purposes in the premises; therefore,

Resolved; That the right to alter or abolish their Government, whenever it fails to secure the blessings of liberty, is one of the inalienable rights of the people, that can

never be surrendered; nor is the right to maintain a Government that does secure the blessings of liberty less sacred and inalienable, therefore we declare that patriotism and manhood alike enjoin upon us resistance to usurpation as the highest and holiest duty of freemen.

2. That the necessity of amendments to the Articles of Confederation was suggested by a prevailing insurrection; its provisions matured amidst the threatening elements of civil war, and the Constitution tendered to the thirteen sovereign and independent States by the wisdom of the age, and accepted by them as a fortress around the liberties of the people, prescribing inflexible limits to the powers of the Government in war as well as in peace, and no necessity, however great, can warrant its violation by any officer of the Government; and every such infraction should be rebuked by the sternest energy of our nature.

3. That the great purpose of the Constitution of the United States was the maintainance of the principles of civil liberty. The Union a means, formed in a spirit of mutual concession, can only be restored and perpetuated by an adherence to the principles upon which it was founded, the voluntary consent of its members, and a scrupulous observance of the rights of each other under the Constitution; and that "war is disunion, irretrievable."

4. That while with just disdain we reject the epithet of "peace at any price" as a slander upon true Democracy, and with instinctive promptness protest against the brutal doctrine of war for revenge, for plunder, or the debasement of our race to the level of the negro, we do regard the restoration of peace to our country, upon an honorable adjustment of the issues involved in this unholy and unnatural war, without humiliation to either party, as rising above all other considerations, and that in pondering the terms of such settlement we will look only to the peace and welfare of our race.

5. That whatever the theory of the powers of the Federal Government to coerce a State to remain in the Union may be, war as a means of restoring the Union is a

delusion, involving a fearful waste of human life, hopeless bankruptcy, and the speedy downfall of the Republic. Therefore we recommend a cessation of hostilities upon existing facts, and a convention of the sovereign States to adjust the terms of a peace with a view to the restoration of the Union, entire if possible; if not, so much and such parts as affinities of interest and civilization attract.

6. That there is a point at which submission merges the man in the slave, and resistance becomes a duty. Whether that point, in the history of the times, has arrived, may be debated; but we will resist by force any attempt to abridge the elective franchise, whether by introduction of illegal votes, under military authority, or the attempt by Federal Officers to intimidate the citizen by threats of oppression.

7. We reiterate and affirm the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, as embodying the true exposition of the Constitution.

8. That we will support and maintain the Constitution of the United States, and of the State of Indiana, and of the laws enacted under the same, as passed by the proper legislative authorities, and as expounded by the proper judicial tribunals. 9. That we will maintain, peacably if we can, but forcibly if we must, the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, the freedom of the person from arbitrary and unlawful arrest, and the freedom of the ballot box, from the aggression and violence of every person or authority whatsoever. And to these ends we hereby pledge to eachother, and to our brethren throughout the United States and the State of Indiana, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

NOTE:—It will be remembered that this platform was to be accepted with the constructions put upon it by this Order, and not in accordance with the Constitution and Laws of the United States. F. G. STIDGER.

Sub-Appendix.

OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

Judge Advocate General

OF THE

United States Army

ON THE

"ORDER OF AMERICAN KNIGHTS,"

ALIAS,

Order of Sons of Liberty.

A Western Conspiracy In Aid of the Southern Rebellion.

War Department, Bureau of Military Justice,
Washington, D. C., October 8, 1864.

HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

Sir: Having been instructed by you to prepare a detailed report upon the mass of testimony furnished me from different sources in regard to the Secret Associations and Conspiracies against the Government formed, principally in the Western States, by traitors and disloyal persons, I have now the honor to submit as follows:

During more than a year past it has been generally known to our military authorities that a secret treasonable organization, affiliated with the Southern Rebellion and chiefly military in its character, has been rapidly extending itself throughout the West. A variety of agencies, which will be specified herein, have been employed, and successfully, to ascertain its nature and extent, as well as its aims and its results; and, as this investigation has led to the arrest in several States of a number of its prominent members as dangerous enemies to their country, it has been deemed proper to set forth in full the acts and purposes of this organization, and thus to make known to the country at large its intensely treasonable and revolutionary spirit.

The subject will be presented under the following heads:

I. Its origin, history, names, etc.
II. Its organization and officers.
III. Its extent and numbers.
IV. Its armed force.
V. Its ritual, oaths, and interior forms.
VI. Its written principles.
VII. Its specific purposes and operations.
VIII. The witnesses and their testimony.

I.—ITS ORIGIN, HISTORY, NAMES, ETC.

This secret association first developed itself in the West in the year 1862, about the period of the first conscription of troops, which it aimed to obstruct and resist. Originally known in certain localities as the "Mutual Protection Society," the "Circle of Honor," or the "Circle," or "Knights of the Mighty Host," but more widely as the "Knights of the Golden Circle," it was simply an inspiration of the rebellion, being little other than an extension among the disloyal and disaffected at the North of the association of the latter name, which had existed for some time at the South, and from which it derived all the chief features of its organization.

During the summer and fall of 1863, the Order, both at the North and South, underwent some modifications as well as a change of name. In consequence of a partial exposure which had been made of the signs and secret forms of the "Knights of the Golden Circle," Sterling Price had instituted as its successor in Missouri a secret political association, which he called the "Corps de Belgique," or "Southern League;" his principal coadjutor being Charles L. Hun,, of St. Louis, then Belgian Consul at that city, but whose *exequatur* was subsequently revoked by the President on account of his disloyal practices. The special object of the Corps de Belgique appears to have been to unite the rebel sympathizers of Missouri, with a view to their taking up arms and joining Price upon his proposed grand invasion of that State, and to their recruiting for his army in the interim.

Meanwhile, also, there had been instituted at the North, in the autumn of 1863, by sundry disloyal persons, prominent among whom were Vallandigham and P. C. Wright, of New York, a secret order, intended to be general throughout the country, and aiming at an extended influence and power, and at more positive results than its predecessor and which was termed, and has since been widely known as the O. A. K., or "Order of American Knights."

The opinion is expressed by Colonel Sanderson, Provost Marshal General of the Department of Missouri, in his official report upon the progress of the order, that it was founded by Vallandigham during his banishment, and upon consultation at Richmond with Davis and other prominent traitors. It is, indeed, the boast of

the order in Indiana and elsewhere, that its "ritual" came direct from Davis himself; and Mary Ann Pitman, formerly attached to the command of the rebel Forrest, and a most intelligent witness, whose testimony will hereafter be referred to, states positively that Davis is a member of the order.

Upon the institution of the principal organization, it is represented that the "Corps de Belgique" was modified by Price, and became a Southern section of the O. A. K., and that the new name was generally adopted for the order, both at the North and South.

The secret signs and character of the order having become known to our military authorities, further modifications in the ritual and forms were introduced, and its name was finally changed to that of the O. S. L., or "Order of Sons of Liberty," or the "Knights of the Order of the Sons of Liberty." These later changes are represented to have been first instituted, and the new ritual compiled, in the State of Indiana, in May last, but the new name was at once generally adopted throughout the West, though in some localities the association is still better known as the "Order of American Knights."

Meanwhile, also, the order has received certain local designations. In parts of Illinois it has been called at times the "Peace Organization," in Kentucky the "Star Organization," and in Missouri as the "American Organization;" these, however, being apparently names used outside of the lodges of the order. Its members have also been familiarly designated as "Butternuts" by the country people of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, and its separate lodges have also frequently received titles intended for the public ear; that in Chicago, for instance, being termed by its members the "Democratic Invincible Club," that in Louisville, the "Democratic Reading Room," etc.

It is to be added that in the State of New York, and other parts of the North, the secret political association known as the "McClellan Minute Guard" would seem to be a branch of the O. A. K., having substantially the same objects, to be accomplished, however, by means expressly suited to the localities in which it is established. For, as the Chief Secretary of this association, Dr. R. F. Stevens, stated in June last to a reliable witness whose testimony has been furnished, "those who represent the McClellan interest are compelled to preach a vigorous prosecution of the war, in order to secure the popular sentiment and allure voters."

II.—ITS ORGANIZATION AND OFFICERS.

From printed copies, heretofore seized by the Government, of the Constitutions of the Supreme Council, Grand Council, and County Parent Temples, respectively, of the Order of Sons of Liberty, in connection with other and abundant testimony, the organization of the order, in its latest form, is ascertained to be as follows:

1. The government of the order throughout the United States is vested in a Supreme Council, of which the officers are a Supreme Commander, Secretary of State, and Treasurer. These Officers are elected for one year, at the annual meeting of the Supreme Council, which is made up of the Grand Commanders of the several States, *ex officio*, and two delegates elected from each State in which the order is established.

2. The government of the order in a State is vested in a Grand Council, the officers of which are a Grand Commander, Deputy Grand Commander, Grand Secretary, Grand Treasurer, and a certain number of Major Generals, or one for each Military District. These officers also are elected annually by "representatives" from the County Temples, each Temple being entitled to two representatives, and one additional for each thousand members. This body of representatives is also invested with certain legislative functions.

3. The Parent Temple is the organization of the order for a county, each temple being formally instituted by authority of the Supreme Council, or of the Grand Council, or Grand Commander of the State. By the same authority, or by that of the officers of the Parent Temple, branch or subordinate Temples may be established for townships in the county.

But the strength and significance of this organization lie in its *military* character. The secret constitution of the Supreme Council provides that the Supreme Commander "*shall be commander-in-chief of all military forces belonging to the Order in the various States when called into actual services;*" and further, that the Grand Commanders "*shall be commanders-in-chief of the military forces of their respective States.* Subordinate to the Grand Commander in the State are the "*Major Generals*," each of whom commands his separate district and army. In Indiana the Major Generals are four in number. In Illinois, where the organization of the Order is considered most perfect, the members in each Congressional District composes a "*brigade*," which is commanded by a "*Brigadier General.*" The members of each county constitute a "*regiment*," with a "*colonel*" in command, and those of each township form a "*company.*" A somewhat similar system prevails in Indiana, where also each company is divided into "*squads*," each with its chief—an arrangement intended to facilitate the *guerrilla* mode of warfare in case of a general outbreak or local disorder.

The "McClellan Minute Guard," as appears from a circular issued by the Chief Secretary in New York in March last, is organized upon a military basis similar to that of the order proper. It is composed of companies, one for each election district, ten of which constitute a "brigade," with a Brigadier General" at its head. The whole is placed under the authority of a "Commander-in-chief." A strict obedience on the part of members to the orders of their superiors is enjoined.

The first "Supreme Commander" of the order was P. C. Wright,

of New York, editor of the New York *News*, who was in May last placed in arrest and confined in Fort La Fayette. His sucessor in office was Vallandigham, who was elected at the annual meeting of the Supreme Council in February last. Robert Holloway, of Illinois, is represented to have acted as Lieutenant General, or Deputy Supreme Commander, during the absence of Vallandigham from the country. The Secretary of State chosen at the last election was Dr. Massey, of Ohio.

In Missouri, the principal officers were Chas. L. Hunt, Grand Commander, Charles E. Dunn, Deputy Grand Commander, and Green B. Smith, Grand Secretary. Since the arrest of these three persons (all of whom made confessions, which will be presently alluded to,) James A. Barrett has, as it is understood, officiated as Grand Commander. He is stated to occupy also the position of Chief of Staff to the Supreme Commander.

The Grand Commander in Indiana, H. H. Dodd, has just been tried at Indianapolis by a military commission for "conspiracy against the Government, violation of the laws of war," and other charges. The Deputy Grand Commander in that State is Horace Heffren, and the Grand Secretary, W. M. Harrison. The Major Generals are W. A. Bowles, John C. Walker, L. P. Milligan, and Andrew Humphreys. Among the other leading members of the order in that State are Dr. Athon, State Secretary, and Joseph Ristine, State Auditor.

The Grand Commander in Illinois is —— Judd, of Lewiston; and B. B. Piper, of Springfield, who is entitled "Grand Missionary" of the State, and designated also as a member of Vallandigham's Staff, is one of the most active members, having been busily engaged throughout the summer in establishing Temples and initiating members.

In Kentucky, Judge Bullitt, of the Court of Appeals, is Grand Commander, and, with Dr. H. F. Kalfus and W. K. Thomas, jailor in Louisville, two other of the most prominent members, have been arrested and confined by the military authorities. In New York, Dr. R. F. Stephens, the Chief Secretary of the McClellan Minute Guard, is the most active ostensible representative of the secret order.

The greater part of the chief and subordinate officers of the order, and its branches, as well as the principal members thereof, are known to the Government, and where not already arrested, may regard themselves as under a constant military surveillance. So complete has been the exposure of this secret league, that however frequently the conspirators may change its name, forms, passwords and signals, its true purposes and operations cannot longer be concealed from the military authorities.

It is to be remarked that the Supreme Council of the Order, which annually meets on February 22nd, convened this year at New York City, and a special meeting was then appointed to be

held at Chicago on July 1, or just prior to the day then fixed for the Convention of the Democratic party. This convention having been postponed to August 29, the special meeting of the Supreme Council was also postponed to August 27, at the same place, and was duly convened accordingly. It will be remembered that a leading member of the convention, in the course of a speech made before that body, alluded approvingly to the session of the Sons of Liberty at Chicago at the same time, as that of an organization in harmony with the sentiment and projects of the convention.

It may be observed, in conclusion, that one, not fully acquainted with the true character and intention of the order might well suppose that, in designating its officers by high military titles, and in imitating in its organization that established in our armies, it was designed merely to render itself more popular and attractive with the masses, and to invest its chiefs with a certain sham dignity; but when it is understood that the order comprises within itself a large army of well armed men, constantly drilled and exercised as soldiers, and that this army is held ready at any time for such forcible resistance to our military authorities, and such active co-operation with the public enemy as it may be called upon to engage in by its commanders, it will be perceived that the titles of the latter are not assumed for a mere purpose of display, but that they are the chiefs of an actual and formidable force of conspirators against the life of the Government, and that their military system is, as it has been remarked by Colonel Sanderson, "the grand lever used by the rebel Government for its army operations."

III.—ITS EXTENT AND NUMBERS.

The "Temples" or "Lodges" of the order are numerously scattered through the States of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri and Kentucky. They are also officially reported as established, to a less extent, in Michigan and the other Western States, as well as in New York, and also in Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware and Tennessee. Dodd, the Grand Commander of Indiana, in an address to the members in that State of February last, claims that at the next annual meeting of the Supreme Council (in February 1865,) every State in the Union will be represented, and adds: "This is the first and only true national organization the Democratic and Conservative men of the country have ever attempted." A provision made in the constitution of the Council for a representation from the Territories shows, indeed, that the widest extension of the order is contemplated.

In the States first mentioned the order is most strongly centered at the following places, where are situated its principal "Temples": In Indiana, at Indianapolis and Vincennes; in Illinois, at Chicago, Springfield and Quincy, (a large proportion of the lodges in and about the latter place having been founded by the

notorious guerrilla chief, Jackman;) in Ohio, at Cincinnati, Dayton, and in Hamilton county, (which is proudly termed by members "The South Carolina of the North";) in Missouri, at St. Louis; in Kentucky, at Louisville; and in Michigan, at Detroit, (whence communication was freely had, by the leaders of the order, with Vallandigham during his banishment, either by letters addressed to him through two prominent citizens and members of the order, or by personal interviews at Windsor, C. W.) It is to be added that the regular places of meeting, as well as the principal rendezvous and haunts of the members in these and less important places, are generally well known to the Government.

The actual numbers of the order have, it is believed, never been officially reported, and cannot, therefore, be accurately ascertained. Various estimates have been made by leading members, some of which are no doubt considerably exaggerated. It has been asserted by delegates to the Supreme Council of February last, that the number was there represented to be from 800,000 to 1,000,000; but Vallindigham, in his speech last summer at Dayton, Ohio, placed it at 500,000, which is probably much nearer the true total. The number of its members in the several States has been differently estimated in the reports and statements of its officers. Thus, the force of the order in Indiana is stated to be from 75,000 to 125,000; in Illinois, from 100,000 to 140,000; in Ohio, from 80,000 to 108,000; in Kentucky, from 40,000 to 70,000; in Missouri, from 20,000 to 40,000; and in Michigan and New York about 20,000 each. Its representation in the other States above mentioned does not specifically appear from the testimony; but, allowing for every exaggeration in the figures reported, they may be deemed to present a tolerably faithful view of what, at least, is regarded by the order as its true force in the States designated.

It is to be noted that the order, or its counterpart, is probably much more widely extended at the South even than at the North, and that a large proportion of the officers of the rebel army are represented by most reliable witnesses to be members. In Kentucky and Missouri the order has not hesitated to admit as members, not only officers of that army, but also a considerable number of guerrillas, a class who might be supposed to appreciate most readily its aims and purposes. It is fully shown that as lately as in July last several of these ruffians were initiated into the first degree by Dr. Kalfus in Kentucky.

IV.—ITS ARMED FORCE.

A review of the testimony in regard to the armed force of the order will materially aid in determining its real strength and numbers.

Although the order has from the outset partaken of the military character, it was not till the summer or fall of 1863 that it began to be generally organized as an armed body. Since that date

its officers and leaders have been busily engaged in placing it upon a military basis, and in preparing it for a revolutionary movement. A general system of drilling has been instituted and secretly carried out. Members have been instructed to be constantly provided with weapons, and in some localities it has been absolutely required that each member should keep at his residence, at all times, certain arms and a specified quantity of ammunition.

In March last, the entire armed force of the order, capable of being mobilized for effective service, was represented to be 340,000 men. The details, however, upon which this statement was based are imperfectly set forth in the testimony, and it is not known how far this number may be exaggerated. It is abundantly shown, however, that the order, by means of a tax levied upon its members, has accumulated considerable funds for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and that these have been procured in large quantities for its use. The witness Clayton, on the trial of Dodd, estimated that two-thirds of the order are furnished with arms.

G. B. Smith, Grand Secretary of the order in Missouri, states in his confession of July last: "I know that arms, mostly revolvers, and ammunition have been purchased by members in St. Louis to send to members in the country where they could not be had;" and he subsequently adds that he himself alone clandestinely purchased and forwarded, between April 15th and 19th last, about two hundred revolvers, with five thousand percussion caps and other ammunition. A muster roll of one of the country lodges of that State is exhibited, in which, opposite the name of each member, are noted certain numbers, under the heads of "Missouri Republican," "St. Louis Union," "Anzeiger," "Miscellaneous Periodicals," "Books," "Speeches" and "Reports," titles which, when interpreted, severally signify *single-barrelled guns, double-barrelled guns, revolvers, private ammunition, private lead, company powder, company lead;* the roll thus actually setting forth the amount of arms and ammunition in the possession of the lodge and its members.

In the States of Ohio and Illinois the order is claimed by its members to be unusually well armed with revolvers, carbines, etc.; but it is in regard to the arming of the order in Indiana that the principal statistics have been presented, and these may serve to illustrate the system which has probably been pursued in most of the States. One intelligent witness, who has been a member of the order, estimates that in March last there were in possession of the order in that State 6,000 muskets and 60,000 revolvers, besides private arms. Another member testifies that at a single lodge meeting of two hundred and fifty-two persons, which he attended early in the present year, the sum of $4,000 was subscribed for arms. Other members present statements in regard to the number of arms in their respective counties, and all agree in representing that these have been constantly forwarded from Indianapolis into the interior.

Beck & Brothers is designated as the firm in that city to which most of the arms were consigned. These were shipped principally from the East; some packages, however, were sent from Cincinnati, and some from Kentucky, and the boxes were generally marked "pick-axes," "hardware," "nails," "household goods," etc.

General Carrington estimates that in February and March last nearly 30,000 guns and revolvers entered the State, and this estimate is based upon an actual inspection of invoices. The true number introduced was therefore probably considerably greater. That officer adds that on the day in which the sale of arms was stopped by his order, in Indianapolis, nearly 1,000 additional revolvers had been contracted for, and that the trade could not supply the demand. He further reports that after the introduction of arms into the Department of the North had been prohibited in General Orders of March last, a seizure was made by the Government of a large quantity of revolvers and 135,000 rounds of ammunition, which had been shipped to the firm in Indianapolis, of which H. H. Dodd, Grand Commander, was a member; that other arms about to be shipped to the same destination were seized in New York City; and that all these were claimed as the private property of John C. Walker, one of the Major Generals of the order in Indiana, and were represented to have been "*purchased for a few friends.*" It is to be added that at the office of the Hon. D. W. Voorhees, M. C., at Terre Haute, were discovered letters which disclosed a correspondence between him and ex-Senator Wall, of New Jersey, in regard to the purchase of 20,000 Garribaldi rifles, to be forwarded to the West.

It appears in the course of the testimony that a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition were brought into the State of Illinois from Burlington, Iowa, and that ammunition was shipped from New Albany, Indiana, into Kentucky. It is also represented that, had Vallandigham been arrested on his return to Ohio, it was contemplated furnishing the order with arms from a point in Canada, near Windsor, where they were stored and ready for use.

There remains further to be noticed, in this connection, the testimony of Clayton upon the trial of Dodd, to the effect that arms were to be furnished the order from Nassau, N. P., by way of Canada; that, to defray the expenses of these arms or their transportation, a formal assessment was levied upon the lodges, but that the transportation into Canada was actually to be furnished by the Confederate Authorities.

A statement was made by Hunt, Grand Commander of Missouri, before his arrest, to a fellow member, that shells and all kinds of munitions of war, as well as infernal machines, were manufactured for the order at Indianapolis; and the late discovery in Cincinnati of samples of hand-grenades, conical shells, and rockets, of which one thousand were about to be manufactured, under a special contract, for the O. S. L., goes directly to verify such a statement.

These details will convey some idea of the attempts which have been made to place the order upon a war footing and prepare it for aggressive movements. But notwithstanding all the efforts that have been put forth, and with considerable success, to arm and equip its members as fighting men, the leaders of the order have felt themselves still very deficient in their armament, and numerous schemes for increasing their armed strength have been devised. Thus, at the time of the issuing of the general order in Missouri requiring the enrollment of all citizens, it was proposed in the lodges of the O. A. K., at St. Louis, that certain members should raise companies in the militia, in their respective wards, and thus get command of as many Government arms and equipments as possible, for the future use of the order. Again it was proposed that *all* the members should enroll themselves in the militia, instead of paying commutation, in this way obtaining possession of United States arms, and having the advantage of the drill and military instruction. In the councils of the order in Kentucky in June last, a scheme was devised for disarming all the negro troops, which it was thought could be done without much difficulty, and appropriating their arms for the purposes of the Order.

The despicable treachery of these proposed plans, as evincing the *animus* of the conspiracy, need not be commented upon.

It is to be observed that the order in the State of Missouri has counted greatly upon the support from the enrolled militia, in case of an invasion by Price, as containing many members and friends of the O. A. K.; and that the "Paw-Paw Militia," a military organization of Buchanan County, as well as the militia of Platte and Clay Counties, known as "Flat Foots," have been relied upon almost to a man, to join the revolutionary movement.

V.—ITS RITUAL, OATHS, AND INTERIOR FORMS.

The Ritual, of the order, as well as its secret signs, passwords, etc., has been fully made known to the military authorities. In August last, one hundred and twelve copies of the ritual of the O. A. K. were seized in the office of Hon. D. W. Voorhees, M. C., at Terre Haute, and a large number of the O. S. L., together with copies of the constitutions of the councils, etc., already referred to, were found in the building at Indianopolis, occupied by Dodd, the Grand Commander of Indiana, as had been indicated by the Government witness and detective, Stidger. Copies were also discovered at Louisville, at the residence of Dr. Kalfus, concealed within the mattress of his bed, where also, Stidger had ascertained that they were kept.

The Ritual of the O. A. K. has also been furnished by the authorities at St. Louis. From this Ritual, that of the O. S. L. does not materially differ. Both are termed "progressive," in that they provide for *five* separate *degrees* of membership, and contemplate the admission of a member of a lower degree into a higher one only

upon certain vouchers and proofs of fitness, which, with each ascending degree, are required to be stronger and more imposing.

Each degree has its commander or head; the Fourth or "Grand" is the highest in a State; the Fifth or "Supreme," the highest in the United States; but to the first or lower degree only do the great majority of members attain. A large proportion of these enter the order, supposing it to be a "Democratic" and political association merely; and the history of the order furnishes a most striking illustration of the gross and criminal deception which may be practiced upon the ignorant masses by unscrupulous and unprincipal leaders. The members of the lower degree are often for a considerable period kept quite unaware of the true purposes of their chiefs. But to the latter they are bound by their obligation "to yield prompt and implicit obedience to the utmost of their ability, without remonstrance, hesitation, or delay," and meanwhile their minds, under the discipline and teachings to which they are subjected, become educated and accustomed to contemplate with comparative unconcern the treason for which they are preparing.

The oaths, "invocations," "charges," etc., of the ritual, expressed as they are in bombastic and extravagant phraseology, would excite in the mind of an educated person only ridicule or contempt, but upon the illiterate they are calculated to make a deep impression, the effect and importance of which were doubtless fully studied by the framers of the instrument.

The *oath* which is administered upon the introduction of a member into any degree is especially imposing in its language; it prescribes as a penalty for the violation of the obligation assumed, "a shameful death," and further that the body of a person guilty of such violation shall be divided in four parts and cast out at the four "gates" of the temple. Not only, as has been said, does it enjoin a blind obedience to the orders of the superiors of the order, but it is required to be held of *paramount obligation* to any oath which may be administered to a member in a court of justice or elsewhere. Thus, in cases where members have been sworn, by officers empowered to administer oaths, to speak the whole truth in answer to questions that may be put to them, and have then been examined in reference to the order and their connections therewith, they have not only refused to give any information in regard to its character, but have denied that they were members, or even that they knew of its existence.

A conspicuous instance of this is presented in the cases of Hunt, Dunn and Smith, the chief officers of the order in Missouri, who, upon their first examination under oath, after their arrest, denied all connection with the order, but confessed, also under oath, at a subsequent period, that this denial was wholly false, although in accordance with their obligations as members of the order. Indeed, a deliberate system of deception in regard to the details of the conspiracy is inculcated upon the members, and studiously pursued;

and it may be mentioned in this connection, as a similarly despicable feature of the organization, that it is held bound to injure the Administration and Officers of the Government, in every possible manner, by misrepresentation and falsehood.

Members are also instructed that their oath of membership is to be held paramount to an oath of allegiance, or any other oath which may impose obligations inconsistent with those which are assumed upon entering the order. Thus, if a member, wheu in danger, or for the purpose of facilitating some traitorous design, has taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, he is held at liberty to violate it on the first occasion, his obligation to the order being deemed superior to any consideration of duty or loyalty promptd by such oath

It is to be added that where members are threatened with the penalties of perjury, in case of their answering falsely to questions propounded to them in regard to the order before a court or grand jury, they are instructed to refuse to answer such questions, alleging as a ground for their refusal that their answers may *criminate* themselves. The testimony shows that this course has habitually been pursued by members, especially in Indiana, when placed in such a situation.

Besides the oaths and other forms and ceremonies which have been alluded to, the ritual contains what are termed "Declarations of Principles." These declarations, which are most important as exhibiting the creed and character of the order, as inspired by the principles of the rebellion, will be fully presented under the next branch of the subject.

The *signs*, *signals*, *passwords*, etc., of the order are set forth at length in the testimony, but need only be briefly alluded to. It is a most significant fact, as showing the intimate relations between the Northern and Southern sections of the secret conspiracy, that a member from a Northern State is enabled to pass without risk, through the South by the use of the signs of recognition which have been established throughout the order, and by means of which members from distant points, though meeting as strangers, are at once made known to each other as "brothers." Mary Ann Pitman, expressly states in her testimony that whenever important dispatches are required to be sent by the rebel generals beyond their lines, members of the order are always selected to convey them. Certain passwords are also used in common in both sections, and of these, none appers to be more familiar than the word "Nu-oh-lac," or the name "Calhoun" spelt backward, and which is employed upon entering a Temple of the first degree of the O. A. K.—certainly a fitting password to such dens of treason.

Beside the signs of recognition, there are *signs of warning and danger*, for use at night as well as by day; as for instance, signs to warn members of the approach of United States officials seeking to make arrests. The order has also established what are called *battle-signals*, by means of which, as it is asserted, a member serving in

the army may communicate with the enemy in the field and thus escape personal harm in case of attack or capture. The most recent of these signals represented to have been adopted by the order, is a five-pointed copper star, worn under the coat, which is to be disclosed upon meeting an enemy, who will thus recognize in the wearer a sympathizer and ally. A similar star of German silver, hung in a frame, is said to be numerously displayed by members or their families in private houses in Indiana, for the purpose of insuring protection to their property in case of a raid or other attack; and it is stated that in many dwellings in that State, a portrait of John Morgan is exhibited for a similar purpose.

Other signs are used by members, and especially the officers of the order, in their *correspondence*. Their letters, when of an official character, are generally conveyed by special messengers, but when transmitted through the mail, are usually in cypher. When written in the ordinary manner, a character at the foot of the letter, consisting of a circle with a line drawn across the centre, signifies to the member who receives it that the statements as written are to be understood in a sense directly the opposite to that which would ordinarily be conveyed.

It is to be added that the meetings of the order, especially in the country, are generally held at night and in secluded places, and that, the approach to them is carefully guarded by a line of sentinels who are passed only by means of special countersign, which is termed the "picket."

VI.—ITS WRITTEN PRINCIPLES.

The "*Declaration of Principles*," which is set forth in the ritual of the order, has already been alluded to. This declaration, which is specially framed for the instruction of the great mass of members, commences with the following specious proposition:

"All men are endowed by the Creator with certain rights, equal as far as there is equality in the capacity for the appreciation, enjoyment, and exercise of those rights." And subsequently there is added: "In the Divine economy no individual of the human race must be permitted to encumber the earth, to mar its aspect of transcendent beauty, nor to impede the progress of the physical or intellectual man, neither in himself nor in the race to which he belongs. Hence, a people, upon whatever plane they may be found in the ascending scale of humanity, whom neither the divinity within them nor the inspirations of divine and beautiful nature around them can impel to virtuous action and progress onward and upward, should be subjected a just and humane servitude and tutelage to the superior race, until they shall be able to appreciate the benefits and advantages of civilization."

Here, expressed in terms of studied hypocracy, is the whole theory of human bondage—the right of the strong, because they are strong, to despoil and enslave the weak, because they are weak!

The languages of earth can add nothing to the cowardly and loathsome baseness of the doctrine, as thus announced. It is the robber's creed, sought to be nationalized, and would push back the hand on the dial plate of our civilization to the darkest periods of human history. It must be admitted, however, that it furnishes a fitting "corner-stone" for the government of a rebellion, every fibre of whose body and every throb of whose soul is born of the traitorous ambition and slave-pen inspirations of the South.

To these detestable tenets is added that other pernicious political theory of State sovereignty, with its necessary fruit, the monstrous doctrine of Secession—a doctrine which, in asserting that in our federative system a part is greater than the whole, would compel the General Government, like a Japanese slave, to commit hari-kari whenever a faithless or insolent State should command it to do so.

Thus, the ritual, after reciting that the States of the Union are "free, independent, and sovereign," proceeds as follows:

"The Government designated 'The United States of America' has no *sovereignty*, because that is an attribute with which the people, in their several and distinct political organizations, are endowed, and is inalienable. It was constituted by the terms of the *compact*, by all the States, through the express will of the people thereof, respectively—a common agent, to use and exercise certain named, specified, defined and limited powers which are inherent of the sovereignties within those States. It is permitted, so far as regards its status and relations, as common agent in the exercise of the powers carefully and jealously delegated to it, to call itself 'supreme,' but not '*sovereign*.' In accordance with the principles upon which is founded the *American theory*, Government can exercise only delegated power; hence, if those who shall have been chosen to administer the Government shall assume to exercise powers not delegated, they should be regarded and treated as *usurpers*. The reference to 'inherent power,' 'war power,' or 'military necessity,' on the part of the functionary for the sanction of an arbitary exercise of power by him, we will not accept in palliation or excuse."

To this is added, as a corollary, "it is incompatible with the history and nature of our system of government that Federal authority should coerce by arms a sovereign State."

The declaration of principles, however, does not stop here, but proceeds one step further, as follows:

"Whenever the chosen officers or delegates shall fail or refuse to administer the Government in strict accordance with the letter of the accepted Constitution, it is the inheritent right, and the solemn and imperative duty of the people to *resist* the functionaries, and, if need be, to *expel them by force of arms*. Such resistance is not revolution, but is solely the assertion of right—the exercise of all the noble attributes which impart honor and dignity to manhood."

To the same effect, though in a milder tone, is the platform of

the order in Indiana, put forth by the Grand Council at their meeting in February last, which declares that "the right to alter or *abolish* their Government whenever it fails to secure the blessings of liberty, is one of the inalienable rights of the people that can never be surrendered."

Such, then, are the principles which the new member swears to observe and abide by in his obligation, set forth in the ritual, where he says: "I do solemnly promise that I will ever cherish in my heart of hearts the sublime creed of the E. K. (Excellent Knights,) and will, so far as in me lies, illustrate the same in my intercourse with men, and will defend the principles thereof if need be, with my life, whensoever assailed, in my own country first of all. I do further solemnly declare that I will never take up arms in behalf of any government which does not acknowledge the sole authority or power to be the will of the governed."

In the same connection may be quoted the following extracts from the ritual, as illustrating the principle of the right of revolution, and resistance to constituted authority, insisted upon by the order:

"Our swords shall be unsheathed whenever the great principles which we aim to inculcate and have sworn to maintain and defend are assailed."

Again: "I do solemnly promise, that whenever the principles which our order inculcates shall be assailed in my own State or country, I will defend these principles with my sword and my life, in whatsoever capacity may be assigned me by the competent authority of our order."

And further: "I do promise that I will, at all times, if needs be, take up arms in the cause of the oppressed—in my own country first of all—against any power or government usurped, which may be found in arms and waging war against a people or peoples who are endeavoring to establish, or have inaugurated a government for themselves, of their own free choice."

Moreover, it is to be noted that all the addresses and speeches of its leaders breathe the same principle, of the right of forcible resistance to the Government, as one of the tenets of the order.

Thus, P. C. Wright, Supreme Commander, in his general address of December, 1863, after urging that "the spirit of the fathers may animate the free minds, the brave hearts, and the still unshackled limbs of the *true Democracy*," (meaning the members of the order,) adds as follows: "To be prepared for the crisis now approaching, we must catch from afar the earliest and faintest breathings of the spirit of the storm; to be successful when the storm comes, we must be watchful, patient, brave, confident, organized, *armed*."

Thus, too, Dodd, Grand Commander of the order in Indiana, quoting in his address of February last, the views of his chief, Vallandigham, and adopting them as his own, says:

"He (Vallandigham) judges that the Washington power will not yield up its power, until it is taken from them by an indignant people, *by force of arms.*"

Such, then, are the written principles of the order in which the neophyte is instructed, and which he is sworn to cherish and observe as his rule of action, when, with arms placed in his hands, he is called upon to engage in the overthrow of his Government. This declaration—first, of the absolute right of slavery; second, of State sovereignty and the right of secession; third, the right of armed resistance to constituted authority on the part of the disaffected and disloyal, whenever their ambition may prompt them to revolution—is but an assertion of that abominable theory, which, from its first enunciation, served as a pretext for conspiracy after conspiracy against the Government on the part of Southern traitors, until their detestable plotting culminated in open rebellion and bloody Civil War. What more appropriate name, therefore, to be communicated as a password to the new member, upon his first admission to the secrets of the order, could have been conceived than that which was actually adopted—that of "Calhoun!"—a man who, baffled in his lust for power, with gnashing teeth, turned upon the Government that had lifted him to its highest honors, and upon the country that had borne him, and down to the very close of his fevered life, labored incessantly to scatter far and wide the seeds of that poison of death, now upon our lips. The thorns which now pierce and tear us are of the tree he planted.

VII.—ITS SPECIFIC PURPOSES AND OPERATIONS.

From the principles of the order, as thus set forth, its general purpose of co-operating with the rebellion, may readily be inferred, and, in fact, these principles could logically lead to no other result. This general purpose, indeed, is distinctly set forth in the personal statements and confessions of its members, and particularly of its prominent officers, who have been induced to make disclosures to the Government. Among the most significant of these confessions are those already alluded to, of Hunt, Dunn, and Smith, the heads of the order in Missouri. The latter, whose statement is full and explicit, says: "At the time I joined the order, I understood that its object was to aid and assist the Confederate Government, and endeavor to restore the Union as it was prior to this rebellion." He adds: "The order is hostile, in every respect, to the General Government, and friendly to the so-called Confederate Government. It is exclusively made up of disloyal persons—of all Democrats who are desirous of securing the independence of the Confederate States, with a view of restoring the Union as it was."

It would be idle to comment on such gibberish as the statement that "the independence of the Confederate States" was to be used as a means of restoring "the Union as it was;" and yet, under the manipulations of these traitorous jugglers, doubtless the brains of

many have been so far muddled as to accept this shameless declaration as true.

But to proceed to the *specific* purposes of the order, which its leaders have had in view from the beginning, and which, as will be seen, they have been able, in many cases, to carry out, with very considerable success, the following are found to be most pointedly presented by the testimony:

1. *Aiding Soldiers to Desert, and Harboring and Protecting Deserters.*—Early in its history the order essayed to undermine such portions of the army as were exposed to its insidious approaches. Agents were sent by the K. G. C. into the camps to introduce the order among the soldiers, and those who became members were instructed to induce as many as possible of their companions to desert, and for this purpose the latter was furnished by the order with money and citizens' clothing. Soldiers who hesitated at desertion, but desired to leave the army, were introduced to lawyers, who engaged to furnish them some *quasi* legal pretext for so doing, and a certain attorney of Indianapolis, named Walpole, who was particularly conspicuous in furnishing facilities of this character to soldiers who applied to him, has boasted that he has thus aided five hundred enlisted men to escape from their contracts. Through the schemes of the order in Indiana, whole companies were broken up; a large detachment of a battery company, for instance, deserting on one occasion to the enemy, with two of its guns, and the camps were imbued with a spirit of discontent and dissatisfaction with the service. Some estimate of the number of deserters at this time may be derived from a report of the Adjutant General of Indiana, of January, 1863, setting forth that the number of deserters and absentees returned to the army through the post of Indianapolis alone, during the month of December, 1862, was nearly two thousand six hundred.

As soon as arrests of these deserters began to be generally made, writs of *habeas corpus* were issued in their cases by disloyal judges, and a considerable number were discharged thereon. In one instance, in Indiana, where an officer in charge of a deserter properly refused to obey the writ, after it had been suspended in such cases by the President, his attachment for contempt was ordered by the Chief Justice of the State, who declared the "streets of Indianapolis might run with blood, but that he would enforce his authority against the President's order." On another occasion certain United States Officers, who had made the arrest of deserters in Illinois, were themselves arrested for kidnapping, and held to trial by a disloyal judge, who at the same time discharged the deserters, though acknowledging them to be such.

Soldiers, upon deserting, were assured of immunity from punishment, and protection on the part of the order, and were instructed to bring away with them their arms, and, if mounted, their horses. Details sent to arrest them by the military authorities were in sev-

eral cases forcibly resisted and, where not unusually strong in numbers, were driven back by large bodies of men, subsequently generally ascertained to be members of the order. Where arrests were effected, our troops were openly attacked and fired upon, on their return. Instances of such attacks occuring in Morgan and Rush Counties, Indiana, are especially noticed by General Carrington. In the case of the outbreak in Morgan County, J. J. Bingham, editor of the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, a member or friend of the order sought to forward to the disloyal newspapers of the West false and inflammatory telegraphic dispatches in regard to the affair, to the effect that cavalry had been sent to arrest all the Democrats in the County, that they had committed gross outrages, and that several citizens had been shot; and adding: "Ten thousand soldiers can not hold the men arrested this night. Civil War and bloodshed are inevitable." The assertions in the dispatch were entirely false, and may serve to illustrate the fact heretofore noted, that a studious misrepresentation in regard to the acts of the Government and its officers is a part of the prescribed duty of members of the order. It is to be added that seven of the party in Morgan County who made the attack upon our troops were convicted of their offense by a State Court. Upon their trial it was proved that the party was composed of members of the K. G. C.

One of the most pointed instances of protection furnished to deserters occurred in a case in Indiana, where seventeen deserters entrenched themselves in a log cabin with a ditch and pallisade, and were furnished with provisions and sustained in their defense against our military authorities for a considerable period by the order or its friends.

2. *Discouraging Enlistments and Resisting the Draft.*—It is especially inculcated by the order to oppose the reinforcement of our armies, either by volunteers or drafted men. In 1862 the Knights of the Golden Circle organized generally to resist the draft in the Western States, and were strong enough in certain localities to greatly embarrass the Government. In this year and early in 1863 a number of enrolling officers were shot in Indiana and Illinois. In Blackford County, Indiana, an attack was made upon the Court House, and the books connected with the draft were destroyed. In several counties of the State a considerable military force was required for the protection of the United States officials, and a large number of arrests were made, including that of one Reynolds, an ex-Senator of the Legislature, for publicly urging upon the populace to resist the conscription—an offense of the same character, in fact, as that upon which Vallandigham was apprehended in Ohio. These outbreaks were, no doubt, in most cases, incited be the order, and engaged in by its members. In Indiana nearly two hundred persons were indicted for conspiracy against the Government, resisting the draft, etc., and about sixty of these were convicted.

Where members of the order were forced into the army by the

draft, they were instructed, in case they were prevented from presently escaping, and were obliged to go to the field, to use their arms in battle against their fellow-soldiers, rather than the enemy, by whom, through the signs of the order, they would be recognized and received as friends. It is to be added that whenever a member volunteered in the army, he was at once expelled from the order.

3. *Circulation of Disloyal and Treasonable Publications.*—The order, especially in Missouri, has secretly circulated throughout the country a great quantity of treasonable publications, as means of extending its own power and influence, as well as of giving encouragement to the disloyal and inciting them to treason. Of these, some of the principal are the following: "Pollard's Southern History of the War," "Official Reports of the Confederate Government," "Life of Stonewall Jackson," pamphlets containing articles from the "Metropolitan Record," "Abraham Africanus, or Mysteries of the White House," "The Lincoln Catechism, or a Guide to the Presidential Election of 1864." "Indestructible Organics," by Tirga. These publications have generally been procured by formal requisitions drawn upon the Grand Commander by leading members of the interior of a State. One of these requisitions, dated June 10th last, and drawn by a local secretary of the order at Gentryville, Mo., is exhibited in the testimony. It contains a column of the initials of a number of subscribers opposite whose names are entered the number of disloyal publications to be furnished, the particular book or books, etc., required being indicated by fictitious titles.

4. *Communicating with and Giving Intelligence to the Enemy.*—Smith, Grand Secretary of the order in Missouri, says, in his confession: "Rebel spies, mail-carriers, and emissaries, have been carefully protected by this order ever since I have been a member." It is shown in the testimony to be customary in the rebel service to employ members of the order as spies, under the guise of soldiers furnished with furloughs to visit their homes within our lines. On coming within the territory occupied by our forces, they are harbored and supplied with information by the order. Another class of spies claim to be deserters from the enemy, and at once seek an opportunity to take the oath of allegiance, which, however, though voluntarily taken, they claim to be administered while they are under a species of duress, and therefore, not to be binding. Upon swearing allegiance to the Government, the pretended deserter engages, with the assistance of the order, in collecting contraband goods, or procuring intelligence to be conveyed to the enemy, or in some other treasonable enterprise. In his official report of June 12th last, Colonel Sanderson remarks: "This department is filled with rebel spies, all of whom belong to the order."

In Missouri, regular mail communication was for a long period maintained through the agency of the order from St. Louis to Price's army, by means of which private letters as well as official dispatches

between him and the Grand Commander of Missouri were regularly transmitted. The mail-carriers started from a point on the Pacific Railroad, near Kirkwood Station, about fourteen miles from St. Louis, and traveling only by night, proceeded (to quote Colonel Sanderson's report) to "Mattox Mills, on the Maramee River, thence past Mineral Point to Webster, thence to a point fifteen miles below Van Buren, where they crossed the Black River, and thence to the rebel lines." It is probably also by this route that the secret correspondence, stated by the witness Pitman to have been constantly kept up between Price and Vallandigham, the heads of the order at the North and South, respectively, was successfully maintained.

A similar communication has been continuously held with the enemy from Louisville, Kentucky. A considerable number of women in that State, many of them in high position in rebel society, and some of them outwardly professing to be loyal, were discovered to have been actively engaged in receiving and forwarding mails, with the assistance of the order and as its instruments. Two of the most notorious and successful of these, Mrs. Woods and Miss Cassell, have been apprehended and imprisoned.

By means of this correspondence with the enemy, the members of the order were promptly apprised of all raids to be made by the forces of the former, and were able to hold themselves prepared to render aid and comfort to the raiders. To show how efficient for this purpose was the system thus established, it is to be added that our military authorities have, in a number of cases, been informed, through members of the order, employed in the interest of the Government, of impending raids, and important army movements of the rebels, not only days, but sometimes weeks sooner than the same intelligence could have reached them through the ordinary channels.

On the other hand, the system of *espionage* kept up by the order, for the purpose of obtaining information of the movements of our own forces, etc., to be imparted to the enemy, seems to have been as perfect as it was secret. The Grand Secretary of the order in Missouri states, in his confession: "One of the special objects of this order was to place members in steamboats, ferryboats, telegraph offices, express offices, department headquarters, Provost Marshal's office, and, in fact, in every position where they could do valuable service;" and he proceeds to specify certain members, who, at the date of his confession (August 2nd last,) were employed at the express and telegraph offices in St. Louis.

5. *Aiding the Enemy by Recruiting for Them or Assisting Them to Recruit within our Lines.*—This has also been extensively carried on by members of the order, particularly in Kentucky and Missouri. It is estimated that two thousand men were sent South from Louisville alone, during a few weeks in April and May, 1864. The order and its friends at that city have a permanent fund, to which there are many subscribers, for the purpose of fitting out

with pistols, clothing, money, etc., men desiring to join the Southern service; and in the lodges of the order in St. Louis and Northern Missouri. money has often been raised to purchase horses, arms, and equipments for soldiers about to be forwarded to the Southern army. In the latter State, parties empowered by Price, or by Grand Commander Hunt as his representative, to recruit for the rebel service, were nominally authorized to "*locate lands*," as it was expressed, and in their reports, which was formally made, the numbers of acres, etc., located, represented the number of men recruited. At Louisville, those desiring to join the Southern forces were kept hidden, and supplied with food and lodging until a convenient occasion was presented for their transportation South. They were then collected, and conducted at night to a safe rendezvous of the order, whence they were forwarded to their destination, in some cases stealing horses from the United States correls on their way. While awaiting an occasion to be sent South, the men, to avoid the suspicion which might be excited by their being seen together in any considerable number, were often employed on farms in the vicinity of Louisville, and the farm of one Moore, in that neighborhood (at whose house also meetings of the order were held) is indicated in the testimony as one of the localities where such recruits were so rendesvoused and employed.

The same facilities which were afforded to recruits for the Southern army were also furnished by the order to persons desiring to proceed beyond our lines for any illegal purpose. By these Louisville was generally preferred as a point of departure, and, on the Mississippi River, a particular steamer—the Graham—was selected as the safest convenience.

6. *Furnishing the Rebels with Arms, Ammunition, etc.*—In this, too, the order, and especially its female members andlallies, has been sedulously engaged. The rebel women of Louisvile and Kentucky are represented as having rendered the most valuable aid to the Southern army, by transporting very large quantities of percussion caps, powder, etc., concealed upon their persons, to some convenient locality near the lines, whence they could be readily conveyed to those for whom they were intended. It is estimated that at Louisville, up to May 1, last, the sum of $17,000 had been invested by the order in ammunition and arms to be forwarded principally in this manner to the rebels. In St. Louis, several firms, who are well known to the Government, the principal of which is Beauvais & Co., have been engaged in supplying arms and ammunition to members of the order, to be conveyed to their Southern allies. Mary Ann Pitman, a reliable witness, and a member of the O. A. K., who will hereafter be specially alluded to, states in her testimony that she visited Beauvais & Co. three times, and procured from them on each occasion about eighty dollars worth of caps, besides a number of pistols and cartridges, which she carried in person to Forrest's command, besides a much larger quantity of similar

articles which she caused to be forwarded by other agents. The guerrillas in Missouri also received arms from St. Louis, and one Douglas, one of the most active conspirators of the O. A. K. in Missouri, and a special emissary of Price, was arrested while in the act of transporting a box of forty revolvers by railroad to a guerrilla camp in the interior of the State. Medical stores in large quantities were also, by the aid of the order, furnished to the enemy; and a surgeon in Louisville is mentioned as having "made $75,000 by smuggling medicines" through the lines of our army. Supplies were in some cases conveyed to the enemy through the medium of professed loyalists, who, having received permits for that purpose from the United States military authorities, would forward their goods, as if for ordinary purposes of trade, to a certain point near the rebel lines, where, by the connivance of the owners, the enemy would be enabled to seize them.

7. *Co-operating with the Enemy in Raids and Invasions.*—While it is clear that the order has given aid, both directly and indirectly, to the forces of the rebels, and to guerrilla bands, when engaged in making incursions into the border States, yet because, on the one hand, of the constant restraint upon its action exercised by our military authorities, and, on the other hand, of the general success of our armies in the field over those of the enemy, their allies at the North has never thus far been able to carry out their grand plan of a general armed rising of the order, and its co-operation on an extended scale with the Southern forces. This plan has been two-fold, and consisted—first, of a rising of the order in Missouri, aided by a strong detachment from Illinois, and a co-operation with a rebel army under Price; second, of a similar rising in Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky, and a co-operation with a force under Breckenridge, Buckner, Morgan, or some other rebel commander, who was to invade the latter State. In this case the order was first to cut the railroad and telegraph wires, in order that intelligence of the movement might not be sent abroad and the transportation of federal troops might be delayed, and then to seize upon the arsenals at Indianapolis, Columbus, Springfield, Louisville, and Frankfort, and, furnishing such of their number as were without arms, to kill or make prisoners of department, district, and post commanders, release the rebel prisoners at Rock Island, and at Camps Morton, Douglas, and Chase, and thereupon join the Southern army at Louisville or some other point in Kentucky, which State was to be permanently occupied by the combined force. At the period of the movement it was also proposed that an attack should be made upon Chicago by means of steam-tugs mounted with cannon. A similar course was to be taken in Missouri, and was to result in the permanent occupation of the State.

This plan has long occupied the minds of members of the order, and has been continuously discussed by them in their lodges. A rising somewhat of the character described was intended to have

taken place in the spring of this year, simultaneously with an expected advance of the army of Lee upon Washington; but the plans of the enemy having been anticipated by the movements of our generals, the rising of the conspirators was necessarily postponed. Again, a general movement of the Southern forces was anticipated to take place about July 4, and with this the order was to co-operate. A speech to be made by Vallandigham at the Chicago Convention, was, it is said, to be the signal for the rising; but the postponement of the convention, as well as the failure of the rebel armies to engage in the anticipated movement, again operated to disturb the schemes of the order. During the summer, however, the grand plan of action above set forth has been more than ever discussed throughout the order, and its success most confidently predicted, while at the same time an extensive organization and preparation for carrying their conspiracy into effect have been actively going on. But, up to this time, notwithstanding the late raids of the enemy in Kentucky, and the invasion of Missouri by Price, no such general action on the part of the order as was contemplated has taken place—a result, in great part, owing to the activity of our military authorities in strenghtening the detachments at the prisons, arsenals, etc., and in causing the arrest of the leading conspirators in the several States, and especially in the seizure of large quantities of arms which had been shipped for the use of the order in their intended outbreak. It was, doubtless, on account of these precautions that the day last appointed for the rising of the order in Indiana and Kentucky (August 16th,) passed by with but slight disorder.

It is, however, the inability of the public enemy, in the now declining days of the rebellion, to initiate the desired movements which have prevented the order from engaging in open warfare; and it has lately been seriously considered in their councils, whether they should not proceed with their revolt, relying alone upon the guerrilla bands of Sypert, Jesse, and others, for support and assistance.

With these guerrillas the order has always most readily acted along the border. The latter, in cases of the capture by the Union forces of Northern members of the order engaged in co-operating with them, have frequently retaliated by seizing prominent Union citizens and holding them as hostages for the release of their allies. At other times, our Government has been officially notified by the rebel authorities that if the members of the order captured were not treated by us as ordinary prisoners of war, retaliation would be resorted to.

An atrocious plan of concert between members of the order in Indiana and certain guerrilla bands of Kentucky, agreed upon last spring, may be remarked upon in this connection. Some 2,500 or 3,000 guerrillas were to be thrown into the border counties, and were to assume the character of refugees seeking employment. Being

armed, they were secretly to destroy Government property wherever practicable, to control the elections by force, prevent enlistments, aid deserters, and stir up strife between the civil and military authorities.

A singular feature of the raids of the enemy remains only to be adverted to, viz: that the officers conducting these raids are furnished by the rebel Government with quantities of United States Treasury notes for use within our lines, and that these are probably most frequently procured through the agency of members of the order.

Mary Ann Pitman, believed to be a true and faithful witness, states that Forrest, of the rebel army, at one time exhibited to her a letter to himself from a prominent rebel sympathizer and member of the order in Washington, D. C., in which it was set forth that the sum of $20,000 in "greenbacks" had actually been forwarded by him to the rebel Government at Richmond.

8. *Destruction of Government Property.*—There is no doubt that large quantities of Government property have been burned or otherwise destroyed by the agency of the order in different localities. At Louisville, in the case of the steamer Taylor, and on the Mississippi River, steamers belonging to the United States have been burned at the wharves, and generally when loaded with Government stores Shortly before the arrest of Bowles, the senior of the Major Generals of the order in Indiana, he had been engaged in the preparation of "Greek Fire," which was to be found serviceable in the destruction of public property. It was generally understood in the councils of the order, in the State of Kentucky, that they were to be compensated for such destruction by the rebel Government, by receiving a commission of ten per cent. of the value of the property so destroyed, and that this value was to be derived from the estimate of the loss made in each case by Northern newspapers.

9. *Destruction of Private Property and Persecution of Union Men.*—It is reported by General Carrington that the full development of the order in Indiana was followed by "a state of terrorism" among the Union residents of "portions of Brown, Morgan, Johnson, Rush, Clay, Sullivan, Bartholomew, Hendricks, and other Counties" in that State; that from some localities they were driven away altogether; that in others, their barns, hay and wheat ricks were burned; and that many persons, under the general insecurity of life and property, sold their effects at a sacrifice and removed to other places. At one time, in Brown County, the members of the order openly threatened the lives of all "Abolitionists" who refused to sign a peace memorial which they had prepared and addressed to Congress. In Missouri, also, similar outrages committed upon the property of loyal citizens are attributable, in a great degree, to the secret order.

In this connection, the outbreak of the miners in the coal districts of eastern Pennsylvania, in the autumn of last year, may be

appropriately referred to. It was fully shown in the testimony adduced upon the trials of these insurgents, who were guilty of the destruction of property and numerous acts of violence, as well as murder, that they were generally members of a secret treasonable association, similar in all respects to the K. G. C., at the meetings of which they had been incited to the commission of the crimes for which they were tried and convicted.

10. *Assassination and Murder.*—After what has been disclosed in regard to this infamous league of traitors and ruffians, it will not be a matter of surprise to learn that the cold-blooded assassination of Union citizens and soldiers has been included in their devilish scheme of operations. Green B. Smith states in his confession that "The secret assassination of United States officers, soldiers, and Government employes, has been discussed in the councils of the order and recommended." It is also shown in the course of the testimony that at a large meeting of the order, in St. Louis, in May or June last, it was proposed to form a secret police of members of the order, for the purpose of patroling the streets of that city at night and killing every detective and soldier that could be readily disposed of; that this proposition was coolly considered, and finally rejected—not because of its fiendish character, (no voice being raised against its criminality,)—but because only it was deemed premature. At Louisville, in June last, a similar scheme was discussed among the order for the waylaying and butchering of negro soldiers in the streets at night; and in the same month, a party of its members, in that city, was actually organized for the purpose of throwing off the track of the Nashville Railroad a train of colored troops and seizing the opportunity to take the lives of as many as possible. Again, in July, the assassination of an obnoxious Provost Marshal, by betraying him into the hands of guerrillas, was designed by members of the interior of Kentucky. Further, at a meeting of the Grand Council of Indiana, at Indianapolis, on June 14th last, the murder of one Coffin, a Government detective, who, as it was supposed, had betrayed the order, was deliberately discussed and fully determined upon. This fact is stated by Stidger in his report to General Carrington, of June 17th last, and is more fully set forth in his testimony upon the trial of Dodd. He deposes that at the meeting in question, Dodd himself volunteered to go to Hamilton, Ohio, where Coffin was expected to be found, and there "dispose of the latter." He adds that prior to the meeting, he himself conveyed from Judge Bullitt, at Louisville, to Bowles and Dodd, at Indianapolis, special instructions to have Coffin "put out of the way"—"murdered"—"at all hazards."

The opinion is expressed by Colonel Sanderson, under date of June 12th last, that "the recent numerous cold-blooded assassinations of military officers and unconditional Union men throughout the Military District of North Missouri , especially along the western border," is to be ascribed to the a gency of the order. The

witness, Pitman, represents that it is "a part of the obligation or understanding of the order" to kill officers and soldiers "*whenever it can be done by stealth*, as well as loyal citizens, when considered important or influential persons;" and she adds that, while at Memphis, during the past summer, she *knew* that men on piquet were secretly killed by members of the order approaching them in disguise.

In this connection may be re-called the wholesale assassination of Union soldiers by members of the order and their confederates, at Charleston, Illinois, in March last, in regard to which—as a startling episode of the rebellion—a full report was addressed from this office to the President, under date of July 26th last. This concerted murderous assault apon a scattered body of men—mostly unarmed—apparently designed for the mere purpose of destroying as many lives of Union soldiers as possible—is a forcible illustration of the utter malignity and depravity which characterize the members of this order in their zeal to commend themselves as faithful allies to their fellow-conspirators at the South.

11. *Establishment of a Northwestern Confederacy.*—In concluding this review of some of the principal specific purposes of the order, it remains only to remark upon a further design of many of its leading members, the accomplishment of which they are represented as having deeply at heart. Hating New England, and jealous of her influence and resources, and claiming that the interests of the West and South—naturally connected as they are through the Mississippi Valley—are identical, and actuated further by an intensely revolutionary spirit, as well as an unbridled and unprincipled ambition, these men have made the establishment of a Western or Northwestern Confederacy, in alliance with the South, the grand aim and end of all their plotting and conspiring. It is with this steadily in prospect that they are constantly seeking to produce discontent, disorganization, and civil disorder at the North. With this view, they gloat over every reverse of the armies of the Union, and desire that the rebellion shall be protracted until the resources of the Government shall be exhausted, its strength paralized, its currency hopelessly depreciated, and confidence everywhere destroyed. Then, from the anarchy which—under their scheme—is to ensue, the new Confederacy is to arise, which is either to unite itself with that of the South, or to form therewith a close and permanent alliance. Futile and extravagant as this *scheme* may appear, it is yet the settled purpose of many leading spirits of the secret conspiracy, and is their favorite subject of thought and discussion. Not only is this scheme deliberated upon in the lodges of the order, but it is openly proclaimed. Members of the Indiana Legislature, even, have publicly announced it, and avowed that they will take their own State out of the Union, and recognize the independence of the South. A citizen, captured by a guerrila band in Kentucky last summer, records the fact that the establishment

of a new Confederacy as the deliberate purpose of the Western people was boastfully asserted by these outlaws, who also assured their prisoner that in the event of such establishment there would be a greater rebellion than ever!"

Lastly, it is claimed that the new Confederacy is already organized; that it has a "provisional government," officers, departments, bureaus, etc., in secret operation. No comment is necessary to be made upon this treason, not now contemplated for the first time in our history. Suggested by the present rebellion, it is the logical consequence of the ardent and utter sympathy therewith which is the life and inspiration of the secret order.

VIII.—THE WITNESSES AND THEIR TESTIMONY.

The facts detailed in the present report have been derived from a great variety of dissimilar sources, but all the witnesses, however different their situations, concur so pointedly in their testimony, that the evidence which has been furnished of the facts must be regarded as of the most reliable character.

The principal witnesses may be classified as follows:

1. Shrewed, intelligent men, employed as detectives, and with a peculiar talent for their calling, who have gradually gained the confidence of leading members of the order, and in some cases have been admitted to its Temples and been initiated into one or more of the Degrees.—The most remarkable of these is Stidger, formerly a private soldier in our army, who, by the use of an uncommon address, though at great personal risk, succeeded in establishing such intimate relations with Bowles, Bullitt, Dodd, and other leaders of the order in Indiana and Kentucky, as to be appointed Grand Secretary for the latter State, a position the most favorable for obtaining information of the plans of these traitors, and warning the Government of their intentions.

It is to the rare fidelity of this man, who has also been the principal witness upon the trial of Dodd, that the Government has been chiefly indebted for the exposure of the designs of the conspirators in the two States named.

2. Rebel officers and soldiers voluntarily or involuntarily making disclosures to our military authorities.—The most valuable witnesses of this class are prisoners of war, who, actuated by laudable motives, have of their own accord furnished a large amount of information in regard to the order, especially as it exists in the South, and of the relations of its members with those of the Northern section. Among these, also, are soldiers at our prison camps, who, without designing it, have made known to our officials, by the use of the signs, etc., of the order, that they were members.

3. Scouts employed in traveling through the interior of the border States, and also within or in the neighborhood of the enemy's lines. The fact that some of these were left entirely ignorant of the existence of the order, upon being so employed, attaches an increased value to their discoveries in regard to its operations.

4. Citizen prisoners to whom, while in confinement, disclosures were made relative to the existence, extent, and character of the order by fellow-prisoners who were leading members, and who, in some instances, upon becoming intimate with the witness, initiated him into one of the Degrees.

5. Members of the order, who, upon a full acquantance with its principles, have been appalled by its infamous designs, and have voluntarily abandoned it, freely making known their experience to our military authorities.—In this class may be placed the female witness, Mary Ann Pitman, who, though in arrest at the period of her disclosures, was yet induced to make them for the reason that, as she says, "at the last meeting which I attended, they passed an order which I consider as utterly attrocious and barbarous; so I told them I would have nothing more to do with them." This woman was attached to the command of the rebel Forrest, as an officer under the name of "Lieutenant Rawley;" but, because her sex afforded her unusual facilities for crossing our lines, she was often employed in the execution of important commissions within our territory, and, as a member of the order, was made extensively acquainted with other members, both of the Northern and Southern sections. Her testimony is thus peculiarly valuable, and, being a person of unusual intelligence and force of character, her statements are succinct, pointed, and emphatic. They are also especially useful as fully corroborating those of other witnesses regarded as most trustworthy.

6. Officers of the order of high rank, who have been prompted to present confessions, more or less detailed, in regard to the order and their connection with it.—The principals of these are Hunt, Dunn, and Smith, Grand Commander, Deputy Grand Commander, and Grand Secretary of the order in Missouri, to whose statements frequent reference has been made. These confessions, though in some degree guarded and disingenuous, have furnished to the Government much valuable information in regard to the secret operations of the order, especially in Missouri—the affiliation of its leaders with Price, etc. It is to be noted that Dunn makes the statement in common with other witnesses that, in entering the order, he was quite ignorant of its true purposes. He says: "I did not become a member understandingly; the initiatory step was taken in the dark, without reflection and without knowledge."

7. Deserters from our army, who, upon being apprehended, confessed that they had been induced and assisted to desert by members of the order. It was, indeed, principally from these confessions that the existence of the secret treasonable organization of the K. G. C. was first discovered in Indiana, in the year 1862.

8. Writers of anonymous communications, addressed to heads of departments or Provost Marshals, disclosing facts corroborative of other more important statements.

9. The witnesses before the Grand Jury at Indianapolis, in

1863, when the order was formally presented as a treasonable organization, and those whose testimony has been introduced upon the recent trial of Dodd.

It need only be added that a most satisfactory test of the credibility and weight of much of the evidence which has been furnished is afforded by the printed testimony in regard to the character and intention of the order, which is found in its National and State constitutions and its Ritual. Indeed the statements of the various witnesses are but presentations of the logical and inevitable consequences and results of the principles therein set forth.

In concluding this review, it remains only to state that a constant reference has been made to the elaborate official reports, in regard to the order, of Brigadier General Carrington, commanding District of Indiana, and of Colonel Sanderson, Provost Marshal General of the Department of Missouri. The great mass of the testimony upon the subject of the secret conspiracy has been furnished by these officers; the latter acting under the orders of Major General Rosecrans, and the former co-operating, under the instructions of the Secretary of War, with Major General Burbridge, commanding District of Kentucky, as well as with Governor Morton, of Indiana, who though at one time greatly embarrassed, by a Legislature strongly tainted with disloyalty, in his efforts to repress the domestic enemy, has at last seen his State relieved from the danger of a civil war.

But although the treason of the Order has been thoroughly exposed, and although its capacity for fatal mischief has, by means of the arrest of its leaders, the seizure of its arms, and the other vigorous means which have been pursued, been seriously impaired, it is still busied with its secret plottings against the Government and with its perfidious designs in aid of the Southern rebellion. It is reported to have recently issued new signs and passwords, and its members assert that foul means will be used to prevent the success of the Administration at the coming election, and threaten an extended revolt in the event of the re-election of President Lincoln.

In the presence of the rebellion and of this secret order—which is but its echo and faithful ally—we cannot but be amazed at the utter and wide-spread profligacy, personal and political, which these movements against the Government disclose. The guilty men engaged in them, after casting aside their allegiance, seem to have trodden under foot every sentiment of honor and every restraint of law, human and divine. Judea produced but one Judas Iscariot, and Rome, from the sinks of her demoralization, produced but one Cataline, and yet, as events prove, there has arisen together in our land an entire brood of such traitors, all animated by the same parricidal spirit, and all struggling with the same relentless malignity for the dismemberment of our Union. Of this extraordinary phenomenon—not paralleled, it is believed, in the world's history—there can be but one explanation, and all these blackened and fetid

streams of crime may well be traced to the same common fountain. So fiercely intolerant and imperious was the temper engendered by slavery, that when the Southern people, after having controlled the National councils for half a century, were beaten at an election, their leaders turned upon the Government with the insolent fury with which they would have drawn their revolvers on a rebellious slave in one of their negro quarters; and they have continued since to prosecute their warfare amid all the barbarism and atrocities naturally and necessarily inspired by the infernal institution in whose interests they are sacrificing alike themselves and their country. Many of these conspirators, as is well known, were fed, clothed, and educated at the expense of the Nation, and were loaded with its honors at the very moment they struck at its life with the horrible criminality of a son stabbing the bosom of his own mother while impressing kisses on his cheeks. The leaders of the traitors in the loyal States, who so completely fraternize with these conspirators, and whose machinations are now unmasked, it is as clearly the duty of the Administration to prosecute and punish, as it is its duty to subjugate the rebels who are openly in arms against the Government. In the performance of this duty, it is entitled to expect, and will doubtles receive, the zealous co-operation of true men everywhere, who, in crushing the truculent foe ambushed in the haunts of this secret Order, should rival in courage and faithfulness the armies which are so nobly sustaining our flag on the battle-fields of the South,

Respectfully submitted,

J. HOLT, Judge Advocate General.

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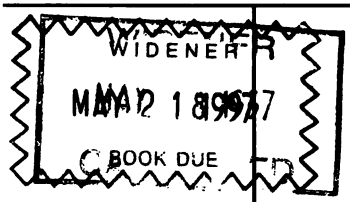
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